# The Sound of Sisterhood: A Study of Female Musicians Building Networks Against Unusual Spaces in the Global South

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## Table of Contents

Abstract	6
Acknowledgements	8
Agradecimentos	11
Introduction: What is the Sound of Sisterhood?	14
Chapter 1   Oh bondage up yours!: The feminine side of rock music	43
1.1 We Don't Play Guitars: Feminine participation and presence in the music indus	try45
1.2 "Esse tal de Roque Enrow": Female rock from Brazil	58
1.3 Rebel girl, rebel girl: Grrrls, drummers, and women in the rock underground	74
1.4 Creating polyrhythm: the brief history of women on drums	86
Chapter 2   Rock around the tropic: Brazilian feminism and the Global South	94
2.1 Leaving the North: about the epistemic south	97
2.2 Feminism and contradictions: A Brazilian experience	107
2.3 "Your vibe attracts your tribe": Female musicians from Brazil	120
2.3.1 The survey: understanding the music industry via female musicians' lense	s126
2.3.2 Backstage talking: the research participants	136
Intermission: The Sound of Silence	155
Chapter 3   Unusual spaces: networks and strategies	162
3.1 Getting the word out: Informational Networks	170
Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia	171
Negras no Underground (NNU)	176
União das Mulheres do Underground (UMU)	182
3.2 Making connections: Relational Networks	188
Women's Music Event (WME)	190

RAIA na Música	194
3.3 Hit So Hard: drummers and networks	199
Chapter 4   "We resist here this way": the construction of safer spaces in music	219
4.1 Into the mosh pit: the places for resistance of women in underground nights	223
Motim	229
Bruxaria fest	238
4.2 Workshops and camps: educating the future generation	253
Girls Rock Camp and Liberta	254
Arte Sônica Amplificada – ASA	261
Hi Hat Girls, the workshop	270
"Culture is what we make it": final appointments	284
References	297
Appendix	309
Mapping of Networks	309
Initial biographical interviews for the participants.	315
The sound they make	316

## **Table of Figures**

Figure 1- Student group at Hi-Hat, Rio de Janeiro, 2019. Source: Author's archive	.39
Author's archive	.39
Figure 3- Cover of a notebook of compositions by Chiquinha Gonzaga [1877]. Source: Reproduction of Chiquinha Gonzaga: Uma história de vida (Diniz 2009)	.49
Figure 4- Advertisement of piano lessons offered by Chiquinha Gonzaga [1880]. Source:	
Reproduction of Chiquinha Gonzaga: Uma história de vida (Diniz 2009)	.50
Figure 5- Rosetta Tharpe recording at Decca Records, 1938. Source: Pictorial Press/Cache	
Agency reproduction (2018).	
Figure 6- Lucinha and Rita (Cillibrinas do Éden) at Phono 73 [1973]. Source: Musicastória	
Figure 7- Kathleen Hanna (Bikini Kill) tells girls to go to the front of the stage. Source:	
Reproduction The Punk Singer (2013)	.75
Figure 8- Karen Carpenter on her drums. Picture by: David Warner Ellis. Source: Getty	
Images.	.88
Figure 9- Julie Sousa profile portrait. Source: The author's archive	139
Figure 10- Zélia Peixoto profile portrait. Source: shesaid.so Medium	140
Figure 11- Cynthia Tsai profile portrait. Source: The Metal Archives	
Figure 12- Gê Vasconcelos profile portrait. Source: Gê Vasconcelos' Instagram	
Figure 13- Letícia Lopes profile portrait. Source: Revista Balaclava	
Figure 14- Meeting via Google Meet platform. From left to right, up to bottom: the author,	
Ianni Luna, Ludmila Carneiro, and Clarissa Carvalho. Source: The author's archive	
Figure 15- Debby Mota profile portrait. Source: Debby Mota	
Figure 16- Maluria: Bianca Santos (guitar), Caroline Canigni (drums), and Monique Olivei	
(bass). Source: Monique Oliveira.	
Figure 17- Flavia Biggs profile portrait. Source: Flavia Biggs	
Figure 18- Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia first Instagram publication (print screen). Sour	
Author's Archive.	
Figure 19- Post on Headbangueira (the change from page to profile, print screen). Source:	
The author's archive.	173
Figure 20- Promotion poster Vox Festival. Source: The author's archive	
Figure 21- Instagram feed of Negras no Underground (print screen). Source: NNU Instagra	
profile (public).	
Figure 22- Black Underground event poster. Source: The author's archive.	
Figure 23- Negras no Underground raffle off the Tina Turner biography (print screen).	
Source: The author's archive.	180
Figure 24- União das Mulheres do Underground blog feed (print screen). Source: The	
author's archive	183
Figure 25- União das Mulheres do Underground logo. Source: The author's archive	
Figure 26- Women's Music Event search engine databank (print screen, 2020). Source: Th	
author's archive	
Figure 27- RAIA na Música Instagram profile and feed (printscreen, 2021). Source: The	_
author's archive.	195
Figure 28- Cover of the first edition of Hi Hat Girls Magazine. Source: The author's archive	
	212

Figure 29- List of Brazilian Female Drummers available on the 1st edition of Hi Hat Girls	
Magazine. Source: The author's archive. https://issuu.com/sunsetpress/docs/hihatfinal213	,
Figure 30- Band List Hi Hat Girls Collection available on the 1st edition of the Hi Hat Girls	
Magazine. Source: https://issuu.com/sunsetpress/docs/hihatfinal214	ļ
Figure 31- Charlote Matou um Cara's gig at old Motim location. Source:	
https://www.instagram.com/p/Bb8AapnhxjE/?hl=pt230	)
Figure 32- From up down, left to right: Clarissa Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, and Ianni Luna.	
The last picture is the Bruxaria collective in the 2018 festival edition. Source: Clarissa	
Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, Ianni Luna. https://www.instagram.com/p/BiuvDMKnqf1238	)
Figure 33- Fairground at Bruxaria II. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/BgT7bldAIJW/.	
	j
Figure 34- Bruxaria II promotional flyer. Source:	
https://www.facebook.com/festbruxaria/photos/157892721537620244	ļ
Figure 35- Mosh pit in Bruxaria III. Source: http://bitly.ws/K6eh252	)
Figure 36- Liberta Rock Camp and Gils Rock Camp, aesthetic differences. Source:	
https://www.girlsrockcampbrasil.org/259	)
Figure 37- A selfie with Zélia Peixoto taken on June 27, 2019. Source: the author's archive	
	)
Figure 38- My first time playing the drums in a Hi Hat Girls session, July 14, 2018. Picture	
by Julie Sousa. Source: the author's archive	)
Figure 39- Training with practice pad and sticks. Hi Hat Girls Instagram post. Source:	
https://www.instagram.com/p/Cin5EnEPLel/274	ļ
Figure 40- Flyer with exercises and name of the pieces. Source: the author's archive275	,
Figure 41- Print screen of Pearl page about surdo. Source:	
https://pearldrum.com/products/percussion/brazilian/surdo	,
Figure 42- Fernanda Lira's post on Instagram (print screen). Source: Fernanda Lira's profile	
285	,

#### **Abstract**

The present dissertation introduces the cultural and historical processes that shape the unusual spaces for female-identified people to be in the Brazilian music industry, and the strategies employed by women and non-binaries to dismantle such construction. I consider that such process involves the gender inequalities in masculinity in certain music genres; thus, the research field started from the Brazilian rock underground scene. The main strategy observed was the creation of networks, employed with the goal to increase representation, education, the number of women and non-binaries working in the music industry, and by offering safer spaces for female-identified people to express themselves. By applying a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995), long interviews with women and nonbinary individuals, and an online incursion with the conduction of an extensive online mapping of projects, and social media profile analysis, the present investigation categorized four types of networks interested in solving the problems of women and female-identified people in the music industry: creative, relational, educational, and informational. All these networks portray different structures and workings but have similar goals: to offer more visibility to women and non-binaries, create connections and engagement, build up feminine representation in the music industry, and encourage women and nonbinary people to learn and create music. With these networks, the research participants hope to dismantle the notion of unusual spaces in music. Networks are, therefore, a practical way of feminist activism.

**Keywords:** Female networks. Women in music. Unusual spaces. Multi-sited ethnography. Brazilian rock underground.

#### Resumo

O atual trabalho apresenta os processos culturais e históricos que moldam os espaços incomuns para pessoas auto identificadas como femininas na indústria musical brasileira e as estratégias empregadas por mulheres e pessoas não binárias para desmantelar essa construção. Considero que o processo de espaços incomuns envolve as desigualdades de gênero e maior presença masculina em determinados gêneros musicais; assim, o campo de pesquisa começou na cena underground do rock brasileiro. A principal estratégia observada foi a criação de redes, empregadas com o objetivo de aumentar a representação, a educação, o número de mulheres e pessoas não-binárias trabalhando na indústria da música e oferecendo espaços mais seguros para as pessoas identificadas como femininas em se expressarem. Ao aplicar a etnografía multisituada (Marcus, 1995), entrevistas longas com mulheres e pessoas não binárias e uma incursão online com a realização de um extenso mapeamento de projetos e análise de perfis de mídia social, a presente investigação categorizou quatro tipos de redes interessadas em resolver os problemas de mulheres e pessoas identificadas como femininas no setor musical: criativa, relacional, educacional e informativa. Todas essas redes possuem estruturas e funcionamentos diferentes, mas têm objetivos semelhantes: oferecer mais visibilidade a mulheres e pessoas não binárias, criar conexões e engajamento, construir a representação feminina no setor musical e incentivar mulheres e pessoas não binárias a aprender e criar música. Com essas redes, as participantes dessa pesquisa esperam desmantelar os espaços incomuns na música. As redes são, portanto, uma forma prática de ativismo feminista.

**Palavras-chave:** Redes femininas. Mulheres na música. Espaços incomuns. Etnografia multisituada. Rock underground brasileiro.

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#### **Introduction: What is the Sound of Sisterhood?**

The way women and nonbinary people navigate the music industry, how they are perceived when appropriating spaces, and how they perceive themselves as acting members of music scenes have been scrutinized for a long time in cultural studies. We can find these themes in academic publications, biographies, memoirs, blogs, articles on the internet and press media, movies, documentaries, and other cultural material. And even with these debates, it is still hard to find women and nonbinary filling influential positions in the music industry. For a long time, this group – or category constructed historically through the political and social division of genders (Scott 1986) – have faced struggles inside the music industry, a space that was socially and culturally constructed as part of the men's universe.

My perception of the relative absence of women in rock music comes from my experience as a Brazilian, white, bisexual, middle-class feminist who made every effort to be accepted into the rock music scene of the town I grew up in. Coming from a religious background, I felt I could express myself without restrictions or the judgmental gaze of a more conservative household in the small clubs, niche events, and gatherings at friends' houses—all part of the rock scene that I knew. Songs by bands from around the globe spoke volumes to me; I felt part of something bigger than myself and the tedious town I had been living in until then.

Despite some failed attempts at playing instruments and the frustration of not being allowed to play the drums (to my parents, I was already wearing weird clothes and walking with strange people, I would not be allowed to play an odd 'boyish' instrument), I managed to engage with the rock music scene. I sang in a small band that only performed at school events, but I was mainly seen as the bass player's girlfriend. I was divided between two groups of people: my friends and the friends of my paramour from my teenage years. Once we broke up, I lost contact with most of this group, so I could no longer attend gigs or other

events with them. I became isolated from the small scene and my presence in it ended. From this experience, I decided I would never date a boy—or girl—from the rock music scene again.

Later, reading Kim Gordon's memoir *Girl in a Band* (2016), I felt a strange and improbable sense of understanding. Improbable because Gordon is the well-known composer, singer, and bass player of Sonic Youth (see appendix), one of the most famous alternative post-punk bands formed in 1980; yet she felt like entering a boys' club. Being the only woman in the band, she was often deemed 'good for a girl,' an expression that fits into the category of tokenism imposed on women in extreme rock genres, such as heavy metal, as discussed by Berkers and Schaap (2018). The authors point out that the process of tokenism towards women in "masculine occupations (such as metal music production)" (83) comes from their lower numbers in these spaces and affects the way they are evaluated – instead of focusing on their actual abilities, the critics categorize them according to their gender, assuming they are less competent than men. Many women—and nonbinary people who also passes through a similar exclusionary process—in the rock underground choose not to try to reach certain positions because of these critics. If they do, they encounter a harsher path because of gender bias. For me, journalism was a safer way—or a safe space—to navigate onto the scene.

When I got to the university, my world expanded, and I learned that I could contribute to the rock underground scene in other ways. In 2013, I began to write about my experiences

<sup>1.</sup> Underground is a term vastly used by artists, various professionals, and fans of many scenes in Brazilian rock. Usually, the people that adhere to the 'underground' nomenclature perform inside the extreme metal, punk, and hardcore genres. Unlike other countries, Brazilian rock bands usually do not stick with only one categorization of (sub)genre. They are self-inscribed in many categorizations altogether, usually depending on the inspirations that change from album to album; e. g. Manger

at gigs, the bands I discovered, and my perceptions of albums and music videos on a personal blog and Tumblr. That same year, I started working with Metal Ground, an independent YouTube channel and website/blog/e-zine that covered the heavy metal music scene in Rio de Janeiro. The project was developed by Natália Ribeiro, an undergrad colleague in Media Studies, and counted also with the participation of Melina Santos, then a master's student who ended up being one of my best friends and a researcher in race and gender in the heavy metal scene and music studies. We worked with underground bands, sticking to our Do-It-Yourself belief to justify the almost inexistent money we made.

As an independent journalist-photographer-video maker while taking my place behind camera lenses, I noticed I had a different type of movement inside the scene, gaining the respect, after some time, of band members and technical crew that got used to us, an all-female crew, backstage. Nonetheless, I often found that the Metal Ground crew were the only women in this musical territory, leading to a different kind of and—frequently—unsettling attention from musicians and technicians alike. Besides being the only all-female communication team at many events, the number of women and nonbinary musicians we interviewed was minimal compared to the men who played in bands. All of this made me realize I was entering more and more a place I did not belong. I regularly felt like an outsider even if I knew there were people like me working in the underground scene and even if I was included in an all-female media crew.

Looking back, I see this personal experience as one of the most significant reasons why this doctorate dissertation exists. The number of women and nonbinary people in the

Cadavre? (see appendix) started its career as a hardcore band, but because of its drum line and the death growl (guttural) made by the vocalist Nata de Lima, it is often associated with death metal and crust punk. Today, the band self-inscribes into crust punk, but it performs in heavy metal, punk, and hardcore events.

rock underground scenes in Rio de Janeiro did not increase much in these passing years. However, they were always there, as noted by the early anthropological work made by Janice Caiafa (1985) on the city's punk rock scene in the years between the 1970s and 1980s and, more recently, the research conducted by anthropologist Abda Medeiros (2017) that investigated the heavy metal scenes in the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Fortaleza.

Before continuing, it is critical to emphasize that, although this investigation focuses on some rock music scenes, the low female presence in music production is a more general issue and not a rock and roll invention. The Chilean organization Ruidosa Fest conducted a survey between 2016 and 2017 looking at the setlists of 41 popular music festivals in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. The survey demonstrated that only 10% of general music attractions in these festivals were females—including all-female and mixed bands.

Mercedes Liska investigated the Argentinian music industry between 2015 and 2019 in cooperation with the *Instituto Nacional de la Música* (National Institute of Music). She noticed that the lowest number of people registered as professional musicians are of nonbinary, only 0.25%, followed by women with 19.9%, while 79.8% are male (Liska 2019).

In Brazil, the *União Brasileira de Compositores* (Brazilian Union of Composers, UBC) released a report in 2020 that pointed out that only 15% of its members are women, competing with 85% of men (Einsenlohr et al. 2020).

More recently, in March 2022, the University of South California and the Annenberg Inclusion Initiative also released a report<sup>2</sup> that demonstrated that despite the growing participation of women in the US music industry, their representation is still meager when it comes to music charts and nominations. In the analyzed period (2012-2022), from the 1000

<sup>2.</sup> The title of the report is: *Inclusion in the Recording Studio? Gender and Race/Ethnicity of Artists, Songwriters & Producers across 1000 Popular Songs from 2012-2022.* 

songs listed on the Billboards, only 21.8% are by female songwriters. In the Grammy Awards, women are only 13.6% of the nominees, in contrast to men, who hold 86.4%. For nonbinary and gender non-conforming people was even worse, since until 2020, no artist participating in the research had been declared nonbinary (Hernandez, Smith, and Pieper, 2022).

Looking into specific areas of creative work, all previous investigations demonstrate a lack of women and nonbinary people in music production. And most women are more strongly in the position of singers. This is the first clue that points to the existence of *unusual spaces* for women in music, that is, the places they do occupy but are still seen as unusual, uncommon, 'unnatural,' as I defend in this work, as a social and historical construction that entangles with the restriction politics in the female bodies and their movements to occupy certain spaces as professionals.

My observation of the creation of unusual spaces for female-identified people in music was the background for the questions that guide the present investigation. I propose, then, to look at women and nonbinary who are struggling to dismantle the unusual spaces in music and, at the same time, creating and engaging with support networks. These networks are understood not as individual actions, but as social compositions articulated by groups of individuals through their interactions, i.e., a "methodological instrument of comprehension of social relations" (Radcliff-Brown apud Enne 2002: 140).

Thus, networks here are deemed as "association[s] to be found amongst human beings" (Radcliff-Brown 1940: 02) and I am looking at them systematically to comprehend their influence in culture. Taking on the perspective suggested by Radcliff-Brown still in

<sup>3.</sup> Ideas of naturality are also imposed being, therefore, not natural but rather social and cultural constructs, meaning they can me imposed and opposed.

1940 pointed me towards an understanding of the networks in here analyzed as sets of social structures, since they are formed by "actually existing relations (...) which linked together certain human beings" (04). This is throughout demonstrated by the fact that not only I looked into the networks, but I also conducted conversations with the women who affect and are affected by those. Although it is not my goal here to affiliate with a specific school of thought, this might as well insert me in a more social anthropological perspective in academic terms. The methodology recommended here, discussed further on, also tends to point towards this direction. The point I make is: it is a necessary to uphold an interdisciplinary perspective in order to analyze and understand the characteristics and purposes of the networks—something I am doing through a multimethodological approach and cultural analysis of the phenomena.

Additionally, I do not regard networks or people as one being more important than the other. Rather, people and the networks formed by these people are part of the same social dynamics: a response to the unequal and gendered music industry. Accordingly, this investigation is interested in the functionality of networks: Where are they allocated (on and offline? Which platforms do they use?), and how are they organized? How are they influenced by and influence the women and nonbinary's lives involved with them? How do the women and nonbinary participating in this research manage different networks?

Being social structures, the main hypothesis is that the networks are crucial for the survival of women in music scenes, especially those that are more associated with masculinity, as is the case of rock underground. For instance, with empirical observation by attending some gigs in grassroots music spaces, it is possible to encounter fewer women and nonbinary in the public, on the stage, and on the backstage—which can lead to uncomfortable situations for females attending these spaces (Hill and Megson 2020b). As a journalist covering the small rock underground music scene in Rio de Janeiro, I saw the consequences

of being in a space with little female presence. It is possible to distinguish the imposed gender roles, the places each body is allowed to occupy, and the response people get if they disturb the existing state of affairs. I saw women, but they were usually in the audience, often accompanied by men. Many held backpacks and beer cups while men responded to the music, for example, entering mosh pits,<sup>4</sup> going to the front of the stage, dancing, and screaming while the bands played. The apparent female people I saw entering the mosh, for example, were typically securely 'escorted' outside by the men in the audience—something that already happened to me more than enough times I can count. I found out later by reading Abda Medeiros' (2017) research that such episodes are common in heavy metal gigs.

The struggle of women and nonbinary to occupy musical spaces for themselves also appears in the production sphere, inside studios, and backstage. Research conducted by the Brazilian music organization DATA SIM<sup>5</sup> (Ribas, Gomes, and Galeotti 2019) showed that 84.3% of female professionals in the music industry participating in the survey had experienced discriminatory situations just because they are women. And from this data collection, most of the participants were white cisgender women—only 2.94% declared being nonbinary. The report titled *Mulheres na Indústria Musical do Brasil: Obtáculos*,

<sup>4.</sup> Moshing, or slam dancing, is sociability – or social response – common in rock underground shows. The public creates a circle in front of the stage – the area is also known as a pit – where they dance, jump, and hit each other. As Silva (2018, 177) explains, moshes are "indicators of evaluation in musical experiences" in which the public can interact with the band by demonstrating their appreciation of the onstage performance.

<sup>5.</sup> Brazilian organization that aims to support musicians and other music professionals. DATA SIM is responsible for annual surveys about the music industry, organizes workshops and educational events for professionals, and promotes and sets up festivals, concerts, shows, etc. The organization is located in the city of São Paulo.

Opportunidades e Perspectivas (transl.: Women in Music Industry of Brazil: Obstacles, Opportunities and Perspectives) also discovered that 63.3% of these professionals felt their careers were affected because of their gender, and 37.5% affirmed they do not feel comfortable in the work environment because of situations of violence, such as sexual assault and moral harassment. The survey discovered that 49% of the women already had problems with sexual assault in the line of work, while 47% passed through situations of moral harassment.

Based on this collection, the existing research on gender and music, and my experience as a music journalist and rock fan, I am compelled to note that the music industry, in general, is not a safe space for female professionals. During this investigation, some music professionals talked to me about sexual and moral harassment episodes—and even rape—they had experienced or witnessed while working mainly in studios. Some choose not to collaborate with men they do not know because of such situations.

And even with these differences and the noticeable gender gap in rock scenes, it is inside the dynamics of the genre that many girls and women often find a place for rebellion. Authors like Lucy O'Brien (2012) defend that it is within rock that young girls find a way to rebel against patriarchal rules and the impositions and demands of female adulthood and create networks. Hence, the creation of subcultures such as Riot Grrrl (Marcus 2010) and the more recent overtake of independent female production in alternative rock (Coscarelli 2017). They take over the production of music and other cultural means aiming to destroy the imposed unusuality of spaces and the support networks are fundamental for this movement.

The present investigation understands support networks as structures created within society through the interaction of social actors (Enne 2002). These interactions demand further communication and engage multiple cultural dealings among the actors involved.

Accordingly, support networks are shaped in many ways, following other methods, and

embodying a variety of structures, such as workshops, online catalogs, websites, data banks, nightclubs, and music festivals—all of them aiming at the inclusion of women and nonbinary in different functions and spaces in music.

Besides the interactions, the networks that contribute to this investigation are built through the common interests of the women and nonbinary who engage with them. Creating such spaces, online or offline, is a tradition in feminist activism (Rodriguez 2016). In the collectivity, these women amplify their voices and may conceive supportive spaces with each other. Hence, when mentioning networks, I am talking specifically about the types of organizations developed by people who share a common interest and use online technologies to expand their social fabric and reach more people.

Such concept also dialogues with what Rita Segato (2021) understands as a community, or a process of communal experiences that happens despite the patriarchal rule that tends to dismantle female's unification. Through sociability, political action, and the express of shared stories and experiences, women form communities or support networks to fight against "minorización" and the "marginalization" in the face of a society, estate, and the controlled-history process that limits their bodies in the public sphere.

Uniting the thought of support networks with its social function, it is also possible to consider the networks—and their digital and online quality—as "social networks," a concept developed by Castells. In the author's view, in the face of globalization, the uses of technologies of communication change with capitalist dynamics,

(...) network society is a society where the key social structures and activities are organized around electronically processed information networks. So, it's not just about networks or social networks, because social networks have been very old forms of social organization, it's about social networks which process and manage information and are using micro-electronic based technologies. (Castells 1996: 34)

In the present work, I understand that these networks use the technologies to their advantage. From them, people can engage in cultural flows that may benefit them, facilitating the construction of a support network needed to maintain their position in the masculinized music industry. They are not limited by geographic borders but rather by "communication codes' such as manners, means, identities and shared goals" (Reitsamer 2012: 401).

When I started this investigation, looking into networks and trying to understand the complexity of the participation of women and nonbinary in music—considering their low numbers and the lack of incentive—, I often found examples from the Anglophone countries in the north. The United States of America appears to have significant relevance, probably because of its cultural predominance in the 'West' in the popular culture industry. Even the previously mentioned report of DATA SIM, *Women in the Music Industry of Brazil:*Obstacles, Opportunities and Perspectives (Ribas, Gomes, and Galeotti 2019), was inspired by an earlier survey conducted by researchers of the Berklee College of Music, Women in the U.S. Music Industry: Obstacles and Opportunities. This is an example of how the north influences the global south even when it comes to data production. Thus, the present dissertation proposes producing data that are not north centered to demonstrate the potency of Brazil and Latin America, focusing on "theoretical work from the South" (Connell 2014: 539).

Besides, this investigation also worries about the communication process that happens within networks and that are fundamental to the creation of safer spaces. As I mentioned before, the online presence of these women and nonbinary via projects' websites and catalogs are also strategies to combat the unusual spaces for female-identified people in music. It is fundamental to discuss how they communicate with each other—something I am bringing further—through visuals and creating a proximity also to legitimize themselves as members of the rock underground scene.

Such strategies are especially apparent in the projects that use social network platforms, like Instagram, as networks. As Krämer, Sauer, and Ellison (2021) argued, the way

people socialize has changed parallel to developments in social communication on the internet and the constant creation of social network platforms. These changes can be seen in how ties are established between the members of a social circle. The authors point to an "increase [in] the number of weak ties (acquaintances, colleagues, and distant friends) that one can stay in contact with" (01). These weak ties influence how people understand the accumulation of social and symbolic capital, for example, giving other dynamics to the platforms that shape many current social interactions. Some networks analyzed here use social media to attract their target audience's attention and negotiate strong and weak ties, as introduced by Krämer, Sauer, and Ellison (2021).

However, even the networks that are not necessarily based in social media have agents that negotiate their strength of ties and are recognized by that. This is market by how they engage with some networks—i.e., if they are their creators and what is the level of engagement with them—, and how much commitment and effort they apply to a project. Ana Enne (2002), in agreement with Ulf Harnnerz, concludes that networks need cultural flow so that society seizes their meaning and purpose. I believe it is possible to trace the cultural flow of the networks analyzed in the present investigation also through the ties constructed within.

Another critical matter is women and nonbinary's space, or rather unusual space, in the music industry. In this investigation I conceptualize the 'unusual space,' a contribution to the studies of music and gender to point out the construction around the prescribed roles based on gender in the professional music setting, including the limitation imposed on feminine bodies. Each place of work demands different behaviors and enforces rules based on social construction (Hirata 2001). This is also true in the music industry, and, as I demonstrated with the previously presented surveys, gender impositions affect the participation of women and nonbinaries in this creative market. Therefore, the unusual spaces

as a concept encompass functions in which women and nonbinaries' participation and representation are lesser in comparison to male incidence.

The unusual space is also a feeling shared by women and nonbinaries who work as producers, instrumentalists, engineers, etc. It runs together with the sensation of not belonging to a certain function or not being welcomed in a place because of their gender. Their discourses imply that the misogynistic environment on tours or studios exists precisely because of the lack of gender diversity in these spaces (Barrière 2019, 2021, Bilbao 2015, Fournet 2010, Medeiros 2017). In an online interview with the journalist Tara Joshi (2020), the producer Meghan Keogh said that "greater inclusion could offer a solution—that way people receiving abuse aren't left to fight their corner alone" (online). To conceptualize the unusual spaces as constructions who affect women in their desire to occupy music spaces is, thus, to understand the place women and nonbinary are occupying and how they deal with the consequences of such occupation.

However, to think of this occupation also imposes a philosophical approach to the idea of the unusuality of music spaces. If the women and nonbinary are indeed occupying spaces such as the underground music scene, these are not unusual to them. They find a way to be inside based on their desire for belonging and can convert to 'usual' once it becomes part of their lives. In other words, the unusuality may not be felt by female musicians themselves.

On the other hand, for a male underground artist, accustomed to his emplacement in a masculinized scene, the space occupied by women as guttural singers or drummers, for example, is understood as an unusuality, a rarity. One example of this philosophical and

ambiguous dynamic is seen in the interview the band Crypta<sup>6</sup> gave to João Gordo.<sup>7</sup> In the live chat,<sup>8</sup> Gordo, that is part of the underground scene in Brazil for more than 40 decades and constantly tours internationally with his band, states that Nervosa (former band of Fernanda Lira and Luana Dametto) was the first extreme metal band with an all-female formation to make it big. Fernanda, vocal from Crypta (see appendix), disagrees with him and says she knows many all-female extreme metal bands in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. The point of discussion, then, is the unusuality of Women in extreme metal music – while Gordo, a white male, is used to meeting more men in the scene and thinks women very rarely occupy the space, Fernanda, a bi-racial woman, does not feel this is an unusual space to be in. To her, although there could be more all-female metal bands, there is already a significant number of references making this space somewhat usual for women.

While the support networks are responses to gender impositions and the low female presence in music, it is fundamental to investigate specific spaces in which women and nonbinaries struggle to maintain themselves or receive recognition as professionals. In this

<sup>6.</sup> Crypta is a Brazilian-Dutch death metal band founded in 2019 by Luana Dametto (drummer) and Fernanda Lira (vocal), both ex-members of the Brazilian death metal band Nervosa. Today, the band bassist is Tainá Bergamaschi, and the guitarist is Jéssica di Falchi.

<sup>7.</sup> Gordo is an iconic legend in underground music. He is the frontman and vocalist of the punk hardcore band Ratos de Porão, created in 1981 in Sao Paulo. Ratos de Porão is one of Brazil's first extreme rock music bands to gain international recognition.

<sup>8.</sup> The interview was part of a set of Lives developed by Joao Gordo to gather money for his project with his wife, Vivi Torrico, where they distribute food for people in precarious situations. They already did the distribution before the pandemic, but with the increased poverty in Brazil, they increased the aid offered to people who are homeless or without money to pay for food. Access the interview in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-BBxlAGKBE.

research, I aim to give the stage to the experiences of women and nonbinary with female identification (two participants declare to do be, identifying as she/they) that act in the various rock underground music scenes in Brazil. The drums, for example, are but one unusual space for women in music – there is a larger range of realities in which limitations also occur. However, in the chapters following, I am offering a special attention to female drummers (although not every network or safer space project have a total focus on them).

Some investigations have already pointed out that the feminine presence is lacking in many areas of the music industry, such as in many rock music scenes and genres (Berkers and Schaap 2018, Kearney 2017), music production (Reddington 2021, Wolfe 2020), DJing (Farrugia 2012, Rodgers 2010), and even as part of the audiences in extreme metal shows (Riches, Lashua, and Spracklen 2014). However, only some studies focus on women who play drums. This may be because, to date, little research has been expended on the experience of drummers in popular music in general, as noticed by Matt Brenan (2020). When intersecting drums – or the experience of being a drummer – and gender, the number of references is even smaller.

Ironically, the first female musician I ever interviewed as a journalist in 2014, when I still worked for Metal Ground, was Gê Vasconcelos, a drummer, and percussionist of the Brazilian saravá metal<sup>9</sup> band Gangrena Gasosa (see appendix). Vasconcelos, also a drummer in the rock underground scene of Rio de Janeiro, is part of the project Hi-Hat Girls, which is

<sup>9.</sup> Saravá metal is a subgenre of heavy metal invented by members of Gangrena Gasosa itself. Saravá is a salutation used today in Afro-Brazilian religions but has a "welcome" connotation. In the saravá metal, the typical heavy metal sounds are mixed with drumming that we usually encounter in sacred rituals of Afro-Brazilian religions. Also, the band members are always characterized as religious entities for performances and music videos, and they take to the stage sacred ritualistic offerings such as popcorn, *farofa*, and cachaça to throw at the public (Ribeiro da Silva 2017).

an educational network for girls and Women who wish to learn how to play drums, and it is also within the remit of this investigation.

Some studies and authors that try to connect percussion and women conclude that women might have been the first drummers in history (Redmond 2018, Smith 2014). Layne Redmond (2018) argues that playing the frame drums and other forms of percussion, including the modern drum kit, connects women to their lost sacredness in the sense of a connection with the goddesses that empower women, which patriarchal values and rules ousted from (pre)modern societies. When denied the practice of drum playing, women are denied their place in society. Following this logic, Redmond theorizes that the exclusion of women in the public sphere begins in the eras before Christ. Basing her efforts on the studies developed by Marija Gimbutas about the domination of the Kurgan people in the Indo-European region in the post-paleolithic era and the dissemination of the violence and war culture in the area, Redmond discusses the shift in the meaning of drum playing. Before Kurgan's domination, frame drums were typically used in sacred and ceremonial contexts, their booming beat aiding in trances and opening channels between the spiritual and physical world for those who believe. After the domination, the frame drums were played only by men and often in war contexts. The association between drumming, violence, and masculinity started to take shape.

The contemporary correlation of the drum kit with masculinity is based on and reinforced by the notion of unusual spaces for femininity in the music industry. As Matt Brennan (2020) argues, this long process of social construction begins when drums in popular music are established through styles like jazz, swing, and ragtime in a time in which women were not encouraged to learn an instrument or frequent the nightlife. This process made it difficult for them to be seen as good drum players even if there were some incontestable counterexamples like the case of Viola Smith (Smith 2014) (see appendix).

The supposed strength one expects from a drum kit also imposes a gendered musical experience. As Susan McClary (2002) recalls, force in music is often associated with masculinity, while the softer styles of compositions are referred to as feminine. She adds: "if the feminine is preferred in 'more romantic styles,' then the masculine must be (and, of course, *is*) identified with more objective, more rational musical discourses. (…) The 'feminine' is weak, abnormal, and subjective; the 'masculine' strong, normal, and objective" (10).

Although McClary is making a case for classical music composition, it is possible to apply this concept to other genres and the materiality of music—i.e., instrument playing. As I will discuss further, historically speaking, the piano was much more associated with the idea of femininity; it was one of the instruments acceptable for women to play inside their homes, thus more associated with the domestic sphere (Bellard Freire and Portella 2010) and far away from the Bohemian lifestyle and the occupation of public spaces. Brennan (2020) claims that drumming is often associated with body strength and power because one needs to use one's whole body to play it. In addition, the modern drum kit takes its influence from various cultures, especially the non-European ones, and for women to connect with the music spaces where drum music was played meant going beyond what was deemed socially appropriate (Smith 2014) – the limitation of the occupation of specific areas is also gendered and historically influenced to determine who can play the drums.

Another factor I cannot leave aside is the loud and imposing sound that the drum hit produces, especially in the genres connected with rock underground. Thinking back on the discussions about softness and weakness as feminine characteristics in music presented by McClary (2002), drums in rock are anything but that. Many authors have already discussed masculinity in rock, how the genre has its own gender-biased, and how social and historical construction processes-imposed roles on the people in this cultural formation.

However, there has been little discussion of how the conception—or misconception—of the drum kit as a masculine instrument has influenced the way rock is understood in underground scenes. And although this reality is little by little changing, some prejudice and other types of symbolic violence are still felt by female and nonbinary drummers, from the discredit of family, friends, and peers, to structural factors like racism, unequal payment, and sexism. In this investigation, I add to the discussion by bringing the participants' perspectives and the struggles they face as drummers. Although this is but an initial discussion, <sup>10</sup> from there it will be possible to understand how the support networks come into play together with personal perseverance and resilience towards a survival in the rock underground scene and music industry as whole.

Additionally, what structures this investigation is women and nonbinaries' participation in the rock underground scene and how they navigate in the scene considering the history, social, and cultural backgrounds that influence it. The different faces of rock music are a fascinating field of study to comprehend social dynamics within contemporary societies. Rock is a music genre created by Black North American people; some argue that a Black woman, Rosetta Tharpe (see appendix), invented rock and roll (Wald 2008). However, the young white people identified with the style and appropriated it, excluding and erasing the Black centrality in its history. One example is the story of Elvis Presley, considered, for years, the king of rock and roll. Gayle Wald recalls that Rosetta Tharpe influenced many musicians, including the Million Dollar Quartet, composed of Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash,

<sup>10.</sup> I point out that the present dissertation produces a more detailed insight into the perspectives of Women drummers because of the fieldwork conducted and the number of drummers interviewed. However, an even more extensive and comprehensive investigation should be made about the experiences and lives of female drummers, something that I propose on the conclusions and a possible next step I am taking, emerging from the data produced for this dissertation.

Lee Lewis, and Carl Perkins. Of the four, Elvis was considered the one that popularized rock and roll – which is not altogether wrong. The musician modeled his performance style on Black artists, from how they performed on the stage to singing gospel music, and "reinterpreted them for a mainstream youth audience that he, but not his black models, could access" (Wald 2008: ebook position 2618). He owed his success to music initially performed by Black artists, for example, in *Hound Dog*, first performed by Big Mama Thornton (see appendix) but becoming one of Presley's biggest hits.

Tharpe and Thornton's music was not the only one whitewashed by the 'Elvis' effect;' other musicians such as Chucky Berry and James Brown also had their songs reinterpreted to a white audience by white performers. In the United States, during the Jim Crow laws<sup>11</sup> up to 1965, Black artists usually had much less visibility and credibility than white artists. Besides, because of the long history of public sphere exclusion, women in the music business, including rock, were often erased from its past (McRobbie and Garber 2006).

As aforementioned, Rosetta Tharpe and Big Mama Thornton are but two examples of this erasure. As Helen Reddington (2012) points out, the history of women being erased from the history of punk rock is a symptom of a more significant problem: rock music is a maledominated sphere, which means innovations made by women are disregarded until a man 'legitimizes' it by doing the same thing. Catherine Strong (2011) agrees with this premise and complements: the "forgetting of women in rock" has many factors, including credibility—

<sup>11.</sup> The Jim Crow laws were a set of state and local segregation rules existing in the late 19th century until the 20th century in the South region of the United States but that influenced the whole country. The law forbade Black people from attending the same institutions as white people, including schools, churches, public pools, and other leisure spots. After many years of Civil Rights struggles and the rise and persecution of essential people such as Martin Luther King Jr., Angela Davies, Rosa Parks, and the people from the Black Panther Party, the doctrine fell legally in 1965.

which is "closely associated with the idea of authenticity, and this is automatically denied to women who are seen as being in any way manipulated or not in control of their material (e.g., by singing other people's songs)" (402). Thus, female production in rock is more scrutinized and criticized than men. They are often more charged for quality and authenticity and, therefore, are less legitimized and given credit for their productions. And because of this erasure of women and people of color, the rock genre became more associated with whiteness and maleness.

Nonetheless, the rock underground scene is the space in which many women and nonbinary rebel against conformism, racism, and gender and patriarchal rules. As Kearney (2017) asserts, rock is a complex cultural formation based on music production and the social constructions of its time. It is only appropriate that this investigation is now taking shape when contemporary feminist discourses and practices are looking more carefully into women making rock music and, in a way, promoting another change to the imaginary space of the genre globally. It is possible to see an increase in discussions about the presence of women, nonbinary and gender nonconforming people in rock and their actions to create support networks and safer spaces. Such activities give yet another layer to the complexity of the rock underground. The current investigation demonstrates that, in a patriarchal context where values like masculinity and the power of (white) men are still being reinforced, women and nonbinary do find a place for subversion where they can be heard.

The methodological coordinates for the ensuing investigation are based on multi-sited ethnography and used as methodological tools, long interviews, and digital ethnography. Following the logic of multi-sited ethnography, as introduced by George Marcus (1995), differently from other forms of ethnographies, I do not hierarchize or separate the emergence of the problem in the research with my participation in the field. The main questions and issues only took shape because of my presence in the investigation space. Through the

exchange with the research participants, my attendance at events, and the incursion into the online sphere while looking at and for references, experiences, projects, and platforms, it was possible to envision this final work as it is. All in all, this dissertation may be considered multi-site work.

As an initial field observation, I talked to women and nonbinary who work and attend shows, workshops, and events that form the fabric of rock underground scenes in Rio de Janeiro. Before the pandemic, I participated in some of these events. I gathered information about women's presence—matters such as security and the location of the events came into my observation. They appeared in many dialogues with the participants, which inspired the idea of the construction of safe spaces presented later. 12 women, two nonbinary, and two groups of three women—a band and a collective—agreed to participate in this investigation. The two groups comprise the Bruxaria collective from Brasilia and a band from Sao Paulo named Maluria. Of the more extensive group formed by the 15 participants, 12 are from Brazil, while two are from European countries (Spain and Germany). Not all participants are part of the rock underground scene; however, they affiliate with support networks that

<sup>12.</sup> In the process of applying for the DAAD scholarship and delving further into global south theory, I started to look also into the networks created outside Brazil. With the goal of reaching Latin American projects, I started to actively conduct internet searches in Spanish and that is how I got to know the Asociación Mujeres en la Industria de la Musica (MIM), from Spain. The network is one of the largest in the world and it was the one that gave me the idea to further my research in Europe. Through that, I spoke with one of the contributors, Alicia Orea Giner who gave me an insight in the project and the music industry from Spain. Although Alicia did not enter as a final participant, our conversation was important to this investigation in relation to my observation with the differences of south and north projects. The other foreigner interviewee that appears more on this final material is Mirca Lotz that will be introduced further on.

have a presence in the scene. All the participants are introduced in this work by their real names, artist names, or nicknames as per agreement and respecting their desires. All the participants permitted me to quote them in this final dissertation.

Considering the scope of this research, the analysis focuses on Brazilian women inside the rock underground, which means that this investigation is also about acknowledging an alternative construction of feminism centered on the lives of women residing in the south. They deal with various struggles and negotiate other ways of activism vis-à-vis the face of global feminism that tends to be homogenized by white feminists from the global north. In other words, the goal here is to criticize the coloniality of feminist reason (Miñoso Espinosa 2020) and include in the discussion some perspectives of Brazilian women in the rock underground. What is remarkable in the case of rock and roll is its history in face of subalternity (sometimes embracing it and sometimes denying) and the force of rebellion and non-conformism – even if the mainstream whiteness and hypermasculinity hinder these purposes by centering the cultural development historically on privileged groups.

From the beginning, I envisioned this investigation taking place in both online and offline spheres—understanding that the internet, or the virtual world, cannot be dissociated from the physical, analogical world (Miller and Slater 2000) —and with the COVID-19 pandemic, the internet and its tools gained even more centrality. Many festivals and artists' presentations started to be broadcasted on platforms such as Instagram Live, YouTube Live, and Twitch; some of them using the moniker 'Stay at Home' and its variations<sup>13</sup> to stimulate people to obey sanitary isolation conditions, offer distraction, and generate income for artists. Following a "thread of cultural process" (Marcus 1995: 97), I started taking part in online

<sup>13.</sup> Some of those are: Stay at Home Festival (<a href="https://www.stayathomefestival.com/">https://www.ficafestival.com/</a>) from Spain, Fica em Casa (trans.: Stay at Home, <a href="https://www.ficafestival.com.br/">https://www.ficafestival.com.br/</a>) in Brazil, and the Britain Stay-In-Fest (<a href="https://infestuk.com/stay-in-fest/">https://infestuk.com/stay-in-fest/</a>).

events that some networks and research participants advertised in their profiles on social media.

The process of mapping support networks also gained more strength – I noticed an increase in interaction and project creation from the women and nonbinary in the rock underground. For example, some projects gained more online structure, from being present only on social media to having a website. Some other projects had to diversify their objectives, as in the case of Motim, a nightclub and collective in Rio de Janeiro that started to open its space for activities other than musical ones and became a tattoo parlor, thrift store, and co-working space.

Hence, the COVID-19 pandemic promoted substantial changes to this research. Previously almost exclusively offline networks started to have more online presence; people who worked solely with music had to diversify their source of income; events that ought to happen in 2020, 2021, and 2022 were postponed or canceled altogether. All these events imposed shifts in women and nonbinary's lives. In this scenario, choosing the Long Interview method (McCracken 1988) was fundamental because much happened in too little time. It was of utmost importance to return to some participants to talk about the new adjustments in their lives in many cases, while keeping a more informal contact with them via their social media profiles.

The observation and investigation of support networks also prompted me to create a mapping of projects focused on giving visibility and encouraging the work of professional women and nonbinary in the music market, while creating representation. To date, 40 projects have entered the list from different countries. From the mapping, I noticed an emergence of global south countries characterized by their independent and non-governmental or anti-establishment formation. However, this positioning brought some setbacks to smaller projects that lost their visibility in competition with larger ones. As is well

known, social media algorithms prioritize hegemonic narratives. The control and moderation in these platforms concede visibility to those who pay more and have the means to maintain their presence in the mainstream, pushing smaller and marginalized groups and projects into their shadow (Christian et al. 2020).

The problems, however, do not decrease the importance of these networks. As Hill and Megson (2020a) conclude, implementing inclusive and equal initiatives for feminine and non-binary participation in music can engender safer spaces for minorities and marginalized groups in music places. Following this line of thought, I define the networks, for this investigation, into the categories: a) Informational; b) Relational; c) Educational; d) Creative. These will be discussed further in the fourth chapter.

Before moving along, it is important that I highlight that the categories are not watertight, they are mere representations of a tentative way of understanding the cultural process behind the creation of these social structures defining the network process (Holland and Leinhardt 1977). The categories exist, thus, to understand which strategies are more appropriated by the actors looking to end the unusual spaces for female-identified people in music. They emerged from my own perception of investigation on the field and each network were classified by my observations on which activity the people in them put more effort into.

On that subject, I can offer some examples to illustrate how the categories, although existing, are not set definitions of the networks: the *Women's Music Event (WME)*, an organization, institution, and collective presented further, is a network that could enter in more than one category. For instance, the initiative promotes an award event to offer more visibility and recognition for women and non-binaries working with music, from that it is possible to state that *WME* is both an informational and relational network. However, *WME* also open a space for women and non-binary people to learn new skills or improve what they already known through conferences and workshops, also making the project an educational

network. Moreover, all these events have women and non-binaries behind its creation, elaboration, promotion, and execution, meaning that *WME* is also a creative network. What I mean here is: although I am including the *WME* in the relational category, I am looking only into one of the efforts existing within this network – the online catalog that provides information about female and non-binary professionals connected with music industry. *WME* is much larger than the categorization process.

Another example can be found in the *Hi Hat Girls magazine and drum workshop*. The *Hi Hat* demonstrates that networks change their characteristics depending on social demand as well as on the desire of their organizers. The project started first as an online magazine for the presentation of female drummers and their work, a way to motivate other women and girls to learn how to play the drums – therefore, an informational network. The project shifted its goals to educational when Julie Sousa – the organizer –, after a drumming demonstration event, started to receive requests of women for workshops like the one she offered with other drummers. I am going to present this case further, in the third and fourth chapters, but this is yet another demonstration that the categories and networks here cannot be seen as fixed and unchangeable. The categories serve the purpose of understanding some of the actions and the efforts employed by the people behind and inside it. Nonetheless, the networks are living and complex imbrications of relationships, desires, and activism.

Another fundamental piece of information was my exchange with the creator of the German project *musicBYwomen\**, Mirca Lotz. Besides *musicBYwomen\**, they<sup>14</sup> also organize *Network the Networks*,<sup>15</sup> a mapping of projects for women and nonbinary in music from countries all around the globe. The idea is to give visibility to these networks, make women

14. Mirca is a non-binary person and identifies as the "they" pronoun.

15. The map can be found at: https://network-the-networks.org/network-map/.

and nonbinary aware of their existence, and archive them for future reference. Via *Network the Networks*, I encountered other initiatives in other countries, including Germany, where the list is more updated and more affluent in variety, probably because this is the country where Lotz lives. This map will also be presented with the listing of networks I have put together for this investigation.

Finally, this dissertation is divided into four chapters that aim to contextualize the history of women's spaces in the music industry and their survival strategies, including the networks. The first chapter brings a more historical discussion focusing on the context that positioned female musicians (mainly instrumentalists and especially drummers) in contemporary popular music and rock underground. To build this historical context, I present theoretical debates that worry about women's presence and performance in various sectors of popular music. This is a first glance at the patterns that define what I have called unusual spaces for women and nonbinary in music. At this point, I turn a look at how female musicians positioned themselves in the history of music-making in contemporary Western popular music and the stories of these women (by accessing authors such as Bellard Freire and Portella 2010, Cardoso Filho 2007, Farrugia 2012, Rodgers 2010, Zanellato 2020, among others).

Two other fundamental debates in this chapter are the discussion of rock music and female drummers. Most of the participants in this research are rock drummers, and this research begins with my participation in the *Hi-Hat Girls* workshops (figure 1) and the conversations I first had with Julie Sousa, who, besides being the creator of the workshops, was originally a doom metal drummer (figure 2). With the initial field incursions through conversations with drummer teachers and students, with me participating as a student in the workshops and overcoming my shame of being *too loud*, my understanding of the importance of female networks and music grew.



Figure 1- Student group at Hi-Hat, Rio de Janeiro, 2019. Source: Author's archive.



Figure 2- Julie and I at a Hi-Hat session at WOW Festival, Rio de Janeiro, 2019. Source: Author's archive.

The second chapter will bring the discussion about feminism and feminine to Brazil and Latin America. This chapter aims to bring to the 'front of the stage' my perception as a feminist in Brazil, in contact with other women or feminist activists that get involved with music. This chapter also discusses feminist activism in the global south, specifically Latin America and Brazil. Considering that the south is not a hegemonized space and, therefore, negotiates different behaviors and practices, including feminism, this chapter contextualizes the epistemic global south, i.e., not in a geographical sense, but as an engine for thinking

beyond the binarism imposed by processes of colonization that wounded global relations of many societies and their individuals (Resende, Robalinho, and Amaral 2020).

Thus, the spaces, activism, or bodies from the south should not be standardized for the benefit of categorization. I will demonstrate in this chapter the differences between feminist activism as it emerged from Latin America and invariably affected the Brazilian contemporary feminist movement. By engaging with mostly Latinx authors (e.g., Curiel 2007, Miñoso Espinosa 2020, Gonzalez 2020, Lugones 2008), I intend to base the development theoretically of feminism thinking that I noticed – and, in many cases, share – with this research participants. The story of feminism in Brazil is filled with contradictions, practicalities, and demands for intersectional understanding. This also appears in the political – not necessarily party politics – stances taken by the women who contributed to this research. On behalf of a more empiric view, it is in this chapter that I present my methodological advances and preambles, as well as the official presentation of the Brazilian musicians that help me shape the current investigation and forge this dissertation.

In the third chapter, I present the networks mapped in this investigation as strategies employed by women and nonbinary in the music industry to increase their presence and visibility while lowering the genre gap. This chapter advances in the practical demonstration of how to deal with the notions of unusual spaces in music for women and nonbinary. Therefore, the networks are understood as tools for resistance and spaces where female and feminine-people music professionals can find collaboration, reverberation to their struggles, empathy, and a place of comfort. In this sense, the networks in this investigation are understood as social organization made by women and nonbinary who desires to create a community that goes against patriarchal as masculinist rule in the society (much like in the terms proposed by Segato 2021).

This does not mean that the formation of networks happens without conflicts, considering that different people are involved in these projects. However, this dynamic explains the instances of silence emerging within these groups and the choices they make to avoid or to minimize the damage caused by animosities, conceding the importance of a strong collectivity. To not antagonize other allies, the participants I interviewed never brought up in a clear manner the problems and conflicts within the feminist activism of rock underground. Even if I knew about some misunderstandings or personal dislikes, through official interviews and meetings, these topics were never brought up – the reason why I will not comment on conflicts that might be prejudicial or not to the communities.

I also focus on the perceived differences traced to the networks built in the south and the north. This piece comes from my experience researching outside Brazil and encountering networks, mainly in Germany. Following this context, I focus on the importance of these networks for female drummers and how they make themselves present in such a complex strategy.

This dissertation's fourth and final chapter is also based on empirical analysis. Still, it now focuses on the construction of safer spaces in music for women – safer because it "reflects the argument by many of the policies that safety cannot be assured, but it is something being worked towards" (Hill and Megson 2019a: 60). The construction of safer spaces is a process that appears as an action taken by many networks I encountered. As Hill and Megson (2019a) defend, safer spaces are essential for increasing female presence in rock underground music scenes. The authors point out how sexual violence hinders the experience of enjoyment for women who frequent gigs. They highlight how music venues should be responsible for their security; men should be educated on the need to change, and women should be more hierarchically positioned in the organization of these venues (Hill and Megson 2019b). In this investigation, I present another path for creating safer spaces: the role

of women and nonbinary people in the organization of musical events. Looking at festivals, parties, and cultural spaces (i.e., *Motim*, in Rio de Janeiro), the participants in this research told me that they felt the need to create a place where they could enjoy a good gig as part of the public or be respected as professionals. Another layer of the safer space that also appears here is the construction of places where women and nonbinary can feel comfortable learning how to make music. Workshops, music camps, and educational events appeared regularly when I searched for networks; however, the numbers increased with time.

The reflection I want to instigate with this research is that, although the number of women and, specially, nonbinary professionals in music is still meager, and this will not change any time soon, music professionals have taken some measures to shift this reality. People should consider the processes that come with these measures, including forming groups with the aid of contemporary communication technologies. Such technologies make disputes and struggle for power more complex; however, they also give space and visibility to represent minority groups like female drummers. My intention here is to contribute to communication and cultural studies by tackling the issue of unusual spaces for female-identifies people and their resistance in the music industry – to understand their strategies of survival is to understand part of the current feminist activism we see developing in one part of the global south, that mixes art and everyday life demands. Inserting this discussion into the rock underground culture and behavior is an endeavor to make sense to fathom from where women and nonbinaries in music – mainly the current research participants – get their notions of collectivity and agency even with the conflicts.

## Chapter 1 | Oh bondage up yours!: $^{16}$ The feminine side of rock music

In this first chapter, I contemplate the theoretical discussion that circumscribes women's place, performance, and history within the context of the music market and the underground rock scene. At this point, my intention is not only to present the history of music and rock but to use a feminist perspective and present the production and life stories of female protagonists. In addition, I focus on Brazilian women who are part of this process of creating the rock music genre and its constant negotiation between the global and the local (Santos Silva 2023).

Thus, this chapter is divided into three parts. In the first one, I contextualize the participation of professional women in music based on a theoretical mapping. I then discuss how instrumentalists position themselves in the music sector based on the bibliography that addresses women in the studios or backstage. I propose, at this moment, a debate on how the workspace and the chosen function can influence the difficulties that women and nonbinaries have in obtaining acceptance, legitimation, and, in many cases, in getting respect. My debate here aims to contextualize and understand why women are subjugated as incapable in some music sectors. This section is the first incursion into what I have been calling unusual spaces for female-identified people in the music from the perspective of gender roles.

In a second moment, I propose a historicization that addresses the position of women specifically in the constitution of rock in the Western context. Although several studies have already explored the topic in-depth, I will adopt the perspective of critical decolonial feminist methodology (Curiel 2020), in which gender is observed together with other factors such as race, class, and geopolitical context. As well defended by Lucy O'Brien (2012) and Romina

<sup>16.</sup> Title of the debut single of the British punk band X-Ray Spex composed by Polly Styrene and released in 1977 (see appendix).

Zanellato (2020), the constitution of several subgenres inside the rock 'umbrella' is intertwined with the female struggle for sexual freedom, expression, and going against patriarchal impositions, such as those connected to motherhood. However, I do not lose sight of the fact that these impositions will be significant (de)limiting circumstances for women in rock and cannot be ignored.

In the third subdivision of this chapter, I will look specifically at the rock underground scenes and some women within them. This contextualization is necessary, as most of the research participants are – or were, at some point – members of rock underground scenes and display typically underground behavior such as DIY cultures (Bennet and Guerra 2019), in their works. Thus, it is essential to discuss the roles and strategies adopted by women who are part of this space to overcome the challenges they face. I hypothesize that the different scenes in rock underground have become increasingly favorable for the growth and artistic expression of women and nonbinary people, despite the historical annulment and erasure that they had gone through in this context (Strong 2011). This is also due to the growing number of contemporary feminist agendas, which have been popularized mainly because of the increase of this identity activism in online environments (Banet-Weiser 2018).

The final subdivision of this chapter centers on a brief historicization of female drummers in popular music. This brings context to the people that aided me to construct the present investigation: the female drummers collaborating with me. It also provides context to what I have been defending as the unusual spaces for women and nonbinaries to occupy in music. To understand where such an imposition began – existing because of patriarchal rules and the definition of gender roles in Western societies – it is necessary to define which places or functions have been established for feminine bodies in music; why they were not approved or recognized as drummers, through which music genres they conquered the approval they

needed. In this final piece of the chapter, I intend to try to understand such a construction that distances femininity from drumming via a brief historical approach to the issue.

1.1 We Don't Play Guitars: <sup>17</sup> Feminine participation and presence in the music industry. Like in other job markets, gender differences are not easily overcome in the music industry. Problems such as the difficulty of women's access to certain functions – e.g., technical, and mathematical activities – and the income gap are a reality in music. As I mentioned in the introduction, the low number of women and nonbinaries in the music industry makes the work environment less welcoming, with female productions receiving less recognition. This underpins the reality pointedly noted by McClary (2002): the western music market, despite having female participation, is still mostly dominated by men – which reinforces the gender disparity in music production and making.

These disparities result from the limited access to music and technology education that women have historically faced. In Brazil, it was believed that formal female education just started to be a demand after the arrival of the Portuguese royal family and the European habits they brought with them.<sup>18</sup> However, even before the official imperial historical records pointing towards female musical education, in the native communities of the country

<sup>17.</sup> First single of the German electroclash band Chicks on Speed which is also a performance feminist group. Released in 2003, the composition is shared among the members of the band (see appendix).

<sup>18.</sup> Being in great debt with France and to escape the persecution of Napoleon, on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 1808, Don Joao together with his family and the most prominent people of the Portuguese court land in the ports of Rio de Janeiro. From then on, Brazil started to compose the imperial triad, the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves. From colony to the center of Portuguese imperialism, Brazil's history changes dramatically.

musical teaching was passed from woman to woman through rituals – as was the case in Tupinambá societies, for example (Severiano 2015) –, information that got lost for many years with the genocide of the indigenous people, a practice characteristic of the colonial process.

That's why one can only assume that certain women (white), from certain social classes (bourgeois and the elite), and inhabitants of certain regions (i.e., urban centers, such as Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo) started to be encouraged to learn how to play instruments and sing by following European customs in the nineteenth century. These women also began to enter society at a time with a little more freedom. According to Bellard Freire and Portella (2010), the arrival of the royal family and the association of Brazil as part of the United Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves transformed

the cloistered regime that [white] women were used to living in since the colonial period. Little by little, throughout the 19th century, "elegant" habits developed in the wealthier classes, a taste for music, the performing arts, and the cultivation of social life through lyrical theater, salons, etc. Sociability expanded and, with it, the space and how women acted. (65)

Women's musical learning, however, was closely linked to the domestic environment, with instruments such as the pianoforte and, later, the piano being preferred for the activity. This teaching began to be encouraged as a demonstration of prestige by the wealthiest families in Brazilian society. Therefore, there was an evident difference between women who played at private and family parties and those who followed a musical career as composers, instrumentalists, or singers in theaters, salons, and opera houses. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, women who decided to go beyond domestic rooms and the private environment were often labeled vulgar and promiscuous by the conservative society. In many cases, they were even banned from some social gatherings (Bellard Freire and Portella 2010, Cardoso Filho 2007, Diniz 2009).

The difference was based on the sexual division of labor principle and the belief that the public sphere was the masculine domain, leaving the domestic sphere as the only acceptable environment for women to thrive in (Arendt 2007). While musical knowledge was well regarded as female leisure and a way to demonstrate status for traditional families, work in public spaces, including conducting orchestras and composing, was understood as a uniquely male function (Bellard Freire and Portella 2010).

Later, teaching became one of the first – and for a long time, the only – type of female professionalization music-wise that was accepted in Brazilian society, as Edinha Diniz (2009) also points out in her biography of the pianist, composer, and conductor Chiquinha Gonzaga (see appendix). Being a mentor did not challenge the disruptions of the separation between public space as a male domain and domestic space as a female domain. Repression certainly did not fall only on women but on any individual associated with the creative theatrical milieu.

In the twentieth century, theater and opera were seen as environments of debauchery and bohemia, subversive to the moral standards of the time. However, they were also frequented and consumed by the most elite strata of society. Hence, if a woman – white and inserted in the social elites of the time – wanted to show her musical knowledge, learned in the domestic environment or private female schools, she should do so as a 'parlor madame,' the woman who plays at home and in family meetings and that "in no way alters their social position, which remains subject to the yoke of the patriarch" (Diniz 2009: ebook position 496).

With the limited access to women acting as musicians – mentorship and performance, for them, both activities restricted to the household –, the production and creation of music started to be dominated by men. For instance, in Brazil at the beginning of the constitution of the music industry, even the technology of audio recording privileged men's experience in

the making. Such was the case of the first gramophones and microphones, as Cardoso Filho (2007: 06) points out, the voices of male singers were more easily captured than the female ones. Male singers were used to projecting their voices because of their public performances (at "circuses and street performances"). Female singers, on the other hand, usually performed in enclosed spaces, which limited their knowledge of voice projection making it more difficult to be captured by the needle in the cylinder or wax disc. This reality changed with electrical recordings that captured the sound with more ease and quality. However, the bias dictating that recordings with the participation of women were of lower quality than those with men remained.

Nonetheless, some women effectively went against these prejudices. In the 1920s, for example, names of pianists – the most accepted instrument for women – such as Lovie Austin and Mamie Desdoumes were becoming important influences for jazz in the United States (O'Brien 2012). In Brazil, one of the women who managed to infiltrate the male-dominated music market was Francisca 'Chiquinha' Gonzaga (see fig. 3). Chiquinha became a professional composer, pianist, and conductor of orchestras in Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, receiving much recognition for her work, even though she did not come from an elite family (Bellard Freire and Portella 2010, Diniz 2009). She was also one of the leading figures in the popularization of *polka*<sup>19</sup> and *choro*<sup>20</sup>. Gonzaga suffered harsh consequences because of her fame – including persecution by her own family, who tried to boycott the sales of her

<sup>19.</sup> Music genre originated in the Czech culture that got popularized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the influence of German Bohemia. It was extremely popular among the Brazilian elite

at the beginning of the twentieth century.

<sup>20.</sup> Popular music genre from Brazil, born in Rio de Janeiro in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a dance style, usually instrumental. Chiquinha Gonzaga was the first pianist of the genre – mainly played by strings instruments. It is one of the root genres that inspired, later, the creation of samba.

compositions. To make ends meet, she offered private lessons in piano, singing, French, History, Geography, and Portuguese (see fig. 4). According to Diniz (2009), musical successes were not a guarantee of a livelihood for musicians at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially for female musicians. Besides Chiquinha Gonzaga, few women throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries reached a certain level of professional recognition in music. This unique narrative – of the exceptional woman, an exception to the rule – became the norm.



Figure 3- Cover of a notebook of compositions by Chiquinha Gonzaga [1877]. Source: Reproduction of Chiquinha Gonzaga: Uma história de vida (Diniz 2009).



Figure 4- Advertisement<sup>21</sup> of piano lessons offered by Chiquinha Gonzaga [1880]. Source: Reproduction of Chiquinha Gonzaga: Uma história de vida (Diniz 2009).

Women who chose a career in music tended to suffer retaliation from family and general society, which usually made their lives difficult, especially when being hired as band members. This was not a Brazilian problem and has been largely discussed and observed by scholarships from around the globe.

In the United States, for instance, the solution women found to start being recognized as musicians was the creation of all-female jazz big bands in the 1920s. As O'Brien (2012) shows, this was a professional tactic; all-female bands were sometimes the first steps to recognition, many instrumentalists could be heard, and many others managed to join mixed bands after or consolidate a career in the industry. All-female jazz bands then gained a reputation for being important gateways for women in the music world.

Another way out was to invest in a singing career, a prerogative that engendered what is understood as the performance of the musical diva. This concept is commonly assigned to female performers, especially in pop music, to this day. Initially, the term 'diva' was used in the opera context. Divas in an erudite production were most commonly female singers, stereotyped as challenging to work with, especially by the people in the production, because

<sup>21.</sup> The advertisement can be translated as "FRANCISCA GONZAGA teaches piano, singing, French, Geography, History, and Portuguese in private homes and schools. [She] Can be found at the home of Misters Arthur Napoleão and Miguèz; at Rua do Ouvidor n°. 89."

of their strong personalities and supposed star-like behavior. However, their 'bad manners' were excused, for when singing, the divas could transform themselves into goddesses through virtuosity and mastery of vocal techniques (Poriss 2014). Divas were condoned because their musical talent bordered on divinity, even if they were controversial women. This opera tradition was later reproduced by popular music, especially in genres in which women have a more significant presence on stage and who acted as interpreters, as in the case of jazz, blues, and, more contemporarily, pop music.

I often wonder if these more 'difficult' behaviors were, in fact, a way that women like Gertrud 'Ma' Rainey (see appendix) tried to gain respect as artists; a strategy to gain reverence for starring in roles that, until then, were mostly male. In a recent brief depiction in the film *The Supreme Voice of the Blues*, <sup>22</sup> Rainey is portrayed as a bitter, boastful, and proud woman. She is, however, also invaluable to the producers who would record her music and has the respect of her band because of her trajectory and musical talent – values that solidify the dubious construction of the jazz and blues diva. Suffice to say, both the play, written by a white man, and the movie, also directed by a white man, portrays the white masculine gaze towards a Black, – probably – lesbian, woman trailblazer of jazz music. But was not Rainey's supposed challenging behavior, also characterized as a bit masculine in the movie, only a way of survival in the men's world?

As Lucy O'Brien (2012) well remembers, Ma Rainey was the first woman to establish herself as a star of the vaudeville era – before her, men dominated the industry and the stages. Rainey was also responsible for popularizing the voices of other Black women. She and Mamie Smith (see appendix) – another iconic figure of the 1920s, popularly referred to as an

<sup>22.</sup> Drama directed by George C. Wolfe, starring Viola Davis and Chadwick Boseman, and based on the homonymous play by August Wilson. Released in 2020 on the streaming platform Netflix.

R&B diva – were the first women to participate in the so-called 'race' recordings, songs recorded with the participation of all-Black bands as an accompaniment to the resounding and strong voices of these women. These records were majorly sold to the Black American audience (O'Brien 2012) but invariably inspired many white artists.

Another factor must be considered: these singers – not just Ma Rainey and Mamie Smith, but also Bessie Williams and Billie Holliday, for example – were as performatively proficient, if not more so, as their male professional colleagues. They demonstrated their sexual desires on stage, their sensual pleasures, not just romantic feelings – considered more appropriate for women. It is possible to find these performances today in other pop artists like Madonna, Rihanna, Anitta, and Kim Petras, among others. And because of that, these Women were also heavily criticized, and their music was considered of less value by critics. In the words of Susan McClary (2002: 151):

(...) for a man to enact his sexuality is not the same as for a woman: throughout Western history, women musicians have usually been assumed to be publicly available, have had to fight against pressures to yield, or have accepted the granting of sexual favors as one of the prices of having a career.

The diva's position is not the only category in which women fall, as singing is not the only function that interests them – even though the number of female performers and vocalists is more significant than the number of instrumentalists. All-female popular music bands, as mentioned above, were primarily responsible for this growth in women's interest in other instruments, such as brass, percussion, and strings, in addition to the domestic piano. Meghan Aube (2011) notes that most of the women participating in her research who started working as drummers follow the influence of jazz. While jazz is undoubtedly the musical genre that prescribes centrality to drums, it is also through female jazz bands that women begin to envision percussion as a possibility.

In addition, it is imperative to emphasize that jazz was also the genre that helped to increase women's "freedom of attitudes and movement" in the 1920s in Brazil (Carloni 2019). Karla Carloni argues that, with the arrival and popularization of jazz in big Brazilian cities such as Rio de Janeiro, women encountered balls and parties as an excuse to dance more freely, transgressing the impositions of society at the time. This ended up having repercussions on their daily lives, with these women questioning the social demands for motherhood and home management – demands that intensified after the First World War with the cultural influence of the United States in gender-divided roles.

Jazz culture also challenges the social construction of percussion for women, especially the drums, which are historically determined as a more masculine instrument due to the relationship between a supposed strength to play and the loud sound they can produce (Aube 2011, Brennan 2020). Another justification for this determinism is based on precepts associated with the roots of the instrument – factors such as the idea that women are less sacred than men come from a long construction intertwined with the limitation of Women to access to hierarchical and sacred places and rituals, as noted by Layne Redmond (2018). In fact, as Laila Rosa (2006) points out, many religions have stringent gender regulations that define feminine and masculine roles. In some lines of religions of African origins, for example, women cannot be consecrated as ogã, <sup>23</sup> a tradition that brings conflicts when broken (Rosa 2006) – a reality that is changing with time.

Matt Brennan (2020) argues that women were not precisely excluded from the religious rituals of African people. Some field diary reports by European anthropologists from the 19th century, for example, describe ceremonies and festivities with the presence of

<sup>23.</sup> In the African-Brazilian religion Umbanda, Ogã is the figure that leads the percussion and singing in rituals. It is a highly hierarchical position since the Ogã is the one that opens the connection between the spiritual and carnal world.

women making music and even playing percussion instruments, "contradicting other accounts of women being excluded from similar drumming rituals" (Brennan 2020: 15).

Based on social constructions, people also assume that percussion or drum playing is a practice far away from the ideal femininity. Womanhood involved ideas of frailty, and weakness, while playing the drums is perceived to require strength – this idea has been constantly disputed by the drummers participating in this research.<sup>24</sup> The connection with the power might come from using the drums as a military instrument. From the Viking warriors in the stone and bronze ages (Rosenschöld 2008), through the Kiganda warriors (Lush 1976), the eighteenth-century Turkish military (Brennan 2020), to the Haitian organizations of anticolonial rebellion, and consequent liberation (Munro 2010), all these folks – and many others – used percussion instruments as a way to organize the rhythm of marches, to communicate, and many more used them as a war tool to cause fear in their enemies.

As Svetlana Aleksiévitch (2016) well remembers in *The Unwomanly Face of War*, despite often fighting side by side with men in battles, there has always been, at least in Western Eurocentric societies, a reluctance to relate femininity and war because of this idea of fragility, care, and maternal instinct. It is not by chance that most non-academic and fictional accounts that portray the role of women in the First and Second World Wars place women – when acting on the battlefront – only as nurses.<sup>25</sup> War is a historically masculine

<sup>24.</sup> Many of these drummers are also drum teachers. All of them say that the use of force for playing drums only gets you until a certain point, but it's not helpful in the long run. The best way to play drums is by refining the technique.

<sup>25.</sup> Aléksiévitch (2016) herself questions this imposition, which is usually centered on the logic of Anglo-Saxon society, but that ignores the role of women from other countries – fundamental to the war. These women assumed many roles including, nurses, but also snipers, machine gunners, anti-aircraft gun commanders, and cooks.

action induced by this construction of brutal force and aggression. Similarly, the sound of drums is commonly heard of as too noisy and too loud: "Noise, then, is not just a casual stereotype about drummers and the drum kit, but a fundamental characteristic assigned to the drums and percussion early on to establish their place at the bottom of a musical hierarchy" (Brennan 2020: 56).

Brennan (2020) also points out that the stereotype of the drum kit as an instrument that only makes noise permeates a judgment of inferiority, mainly because the drums were more frequently used in non-European music genres which, later, evolved to more modern styles such as jazz, blues, and R&B. These styles, in general, initially clashed with European classical genres such as waltz or polka, which had the strings as their primary instrumental basis. Thus, women who chose to play the drums needed to overcome all these prejudices in addition to those related to gender segregation. For as late as the 1980s, Zanellato (2020) recalls Stephanie Nuttal, drummer of Argentinian band Sumo (see appendix) performance at a student festival in Buenos Aires to audience chants of "whore, whore, whore! Just because she was playing drums" (ebook position 2502).

More recently, such name-calling is not so typical, or at least not made so explicitly, as the popularization of feminist ideology makes many people rethink the way women are treated in different spaces – or makes misogynists choose better words and reduce offenses for fear of the repercussions they may have in the public eye. However, poor treatment is not uncommon in the routine of female drummers. Accounts of how they were prevented from taking the stage to assemble their kit by some security guy presuming they were not members of the bands are a ubiquitous experience – some female drummers informally told me while I was talking to them about this research, and this was also confirmed by both Julie Sousa and Cynthia Tsai whom I will introduce in the second chapter. Finally, drum kits are often much more expensive than other instruments – both for purchase and maintenance – and are not

very practical in transport. All these factors are likely to keep women away from professionalizing as drummers. Instead, many opt for more practical and cheaper instruments, such as the guitar.

However, even the guitar, an instrument most chosen by women, seems to present problems regarding female representation, facing 'gendering.' Starting with the construction of guitar heroes, an imaginary based on American R&B inherited by rock'n'roll culture.

Generally, these heroic figures masterfully wield the stringed instrument and are absolutely high-performing – these traits are more commonly related to men in rock. One example is the exhibition *Guitar Heroes: Legendary Craftsmen from Italy to New York*, organized in 2011 by Jason Kerr Dobney and displayed at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Nearly the entire exhibition brochure, which demonstrates the invention that culminated in the creation of the modern electric guitar and the historical figures that played the instrument, is centered on male inventors and artists. There are only a few mentions of women, and those that do appear, play the role of companions to some male 'guitar genius.'

Marisa Meltzer (2010) concludes that the guitar in popular music is linked to notions of virtuosity, which is usually connected – especially in rock'n'roll – to the idea of masculinity, as it refers to the domain of technique and technology. Rodgers (2010) states that this mastery of techniques and the relationship with technological knowledge is masculinized precisely because of formal female education, which, historically, does not stimulate curiosity for disciplines linked to logical areas – such as mathematics. This is a problem that goes beyond music.

According to Adriana Maria Tonini and Mariana Tonini de Araújo (2019), despite an evident increase in female professionalization in the Brazilian Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) field, women are still segregated in two ways: "horizontally, which refers to few women in specific areas of knowledge, and vertically,

referring to the underrepresentation of women in prestigious and power, even in careers considered feminine" (Tonini and De Araújo 2019: 119). The researchers conclude that to solve this problem of underrepresentation, it is necessary to incentive girls to get interested in STEM through initiatives and programs that support and encourage research and the creation of events and initiatives that stimulate scientific work together with support networks that promote the continuity of women in the field.

Rebekah Farrugia (2012) associates the low female presence in the technology field with the low participation of women in strategic and highly technological music sectors. For the author, while the mastery of technology is not an activity that is demonstrably defined by gender, Western patriarchal society created an involvement between masculinity and technology, shaping it as a rule. In music, it is more difficult to find women acting as producers and engineers, as Tara Rodgers (2012) also calls attention to.

Thus, regardless of the instrument or field of action, females still face obstacles difficult to overcome to be legitimized as good professionals – the difficulty level varies. A probable cause might be that men still fill strategic positions in critical roles even with the increased female presence in the creative industry. Farrugia (2012: 21) draws attention to the fact that men are still the significant occupants in every nook of the music market: "(...) DJs, rock stars, critics, sound engineers, and even avid collectors." Furthermore, I believe the music genre is a decisive factor in gender issues, including legitimation influenced by gender. Women, for instance, are much more easily recognized as fans, groupies, or artists (such as poets or visual artists, but not necessarily connected to music-making), than instrumentalists or rock stars (Bilbao 2015, Zanellato 2020). In the next topic, I will focus on the issues involving women, legitimation, and the space that rock music – with all its subversion possibilities – negotiates between sexual genders in Brazil.

Her dazzling guitar playing, which featured a finger-picking style unusual at the time, indelibly influenced Elvis Presley, Johnny Cash, Jerry Lee Lewis, Red Foley, Etta James, Little Richards, Bonnie Raitt, Ruth Brown, Isaac Hayes, and many others (Wald 2007, ebook position 46).

The above excerpt – is taken from the book *Shout, Sister, Shout!: The Untold Story of Rock-and-Roll Trailblazer Sister Rosetta Tharpe* by Gayle Wald (2007) – is a short illustration of Rosetta Tharpe's importance and significance to rock music. Wald writes that Rosetta led the life of a true rock'n'roll star: she defied the moral standards of her time by performing while dressed in flashy clothes – including all sorts of wigs. She confronted the norms of her Pentecostal congregation by singing and composing 'secular' songs, even criticizing Christian hypocrisy in "Strange Things Happening Every Day" (see appendix), getting married three times, and divorcing twice – her third wedding took place in a baseball stadium, with Tharpe playing her guitar for all the guests at the end of the ceremony. Finally, and most importantly, Rosetta Tharpe played guitar with great expertise (see fig. 5).

<sup>26.</sup> Music composed by Rita Lee and Paulo Coelho, both Brazilian rock legends. It presents a Brazilian twist in the spelling of rock and roll; in a way, Roque Enrow seems like a boy's name, something that goes together with the lyrics that depict a mother complaining about how her daughter changed once she started to get involved with "this so-called rock and roll." The song was released in 1975 on the album *Fruto Proibido* (see appendix).



Figure 5- Rosetta Tharpe recording at Decca Records, 1938. Source: Pictorial Press/Cache Agency reproduction (2018).

Tharpe had a trajectory very similar to many other artists considered founders of rock music. She started her music life by playing in the religious congregation she was part of as a child. From there, she developed musically, composing hits, and achieving fame. Her music was inspired by Black culture in the twentieth-century United States: gospel, blues, jazz, country, and R&B were mixed in a formula later known as the rock'n'roll recipe. However, history has not treated her as it has treated more famous (and definitely male) musicians like Elvis Presley or Buddy Holly. As a Black exuberant and a bit unconventional woman, Rosetta Tharpe, a personality ahead of her own time, ended up being ostracized.

When I first heard about Rosetta, I was looking for women relevant to rock history to write a story in the Metal Ground – the independent web magazine and channel I worked for. At the time, I could only find a brief note about unknown Black people in rock music posted on an independent music blog to celebrate Black Awareness Month. The year was 2014, but my short online article about Rosetta Tharpe did not get published<sup>27</sup> since I could not find more information. A few years later, I saw Mick Csaky's short documentary entitled *The* 

<sup>27.</sup> Instead, I ended up producing an article about female heavy metal bands, unfortunately, this material was lost at the end of the website in 2018.

Godmother of Rock & Roll: Sister Rosetta Tharpe, <sup>28</sup> which, despite being released in 2014, was a reference lost to me at the time due to its lack of advertisement.

I grew up listening to rock music from Brazil. I liked to discover artists, especially if they were female singer-songwriters — I felt a weird connection; I got inspired by them. I wanted to listen to more popular rock artists like Pitty and Rita Lee (see appendix). Still, I was also always looking for other not-so-famous underground rockers, such as the bands As Mercenárias and Bulimia (see appendix). It was not easy to encounter these artists; I did not grow up in a big city, and my internet access was limited. However, some artists were notorious; I had no problems finding albums from the major male bands of Brazil, such as Legião Urbana and Sepultura. So, the question that was always in the back of my mind was: why are so few women considered representatives of rock history compared to men? Studying this problem more deeply, I realize that, while women also have countless responsibilities for the constitution of rock'n'roll, they are usually left out, or become forgotten, when it comes to recognizing imperative innovations and discoveries for the musical genre.

There are certainly some exceptions, like Janis Joplin (see appendix), who, according to Lucy O'Brien (2012), was deemed 'unfeminine' by 1960s standards. Because of that characteristic and her unique voice, she began to have a big presence in the industry. Janis was:

A heavy girl with a gutsy voice who wanted to take her space in the world, she found it impossible to squeeze into the rigorous of decorative small-town femininity. Although part of her longed to join this aloof sorority of womanhood, she cast herself in a role so anti-social, so anti-traditional femininity, that she would never have to compete [with other women] (ebook position 1706).

28. Available at: https://vimeo.com/101081738.

60

Another exception that proves the rule comes from Patti Smith's account in her book *Just Kids* (2016). Recalling her early years as a resident of New York City in the 1960s, as well as the beginnings of her career as an artist (initially a poet and only later as a musical artist), Smith recounts how she began to be taken more seriously – and even getting to know other artists and musicians, being invited to frequent the same spaces as them – when she adopted a more androgynous style. She decided to cut her long black hair, copying famous rockers of the time, and wore loose, masculine clothes – including, often, pieces swapped with photographer and visual artist Robert Mapplethorpe.<sup>29</sup> Patti recalls that she was mistaken for a boy by poet Allen Ginsberg – and thus began their friendship.

The stigma that gives a certain legitimacy in rock to people who do not follow a standard of femininity can also be noticed in songwriting. In "Esse tal de Roque Enrow" (see appendix) (transl.: This So-Called Roque Enrow), Rita Lee adopts the perspective of a mother allegedly complaining to a doctor about the strange behavior of her daughter who "is living with this so-called Roque Enrow." She sings:

Ela nem vem mais pra casa, doutor
Ela odeia meus vestidos
Minha filha é um caso sério, doutor
Ela agora está vivendo com esse tal de Roque Enrow (...)
Ela não quer ser tratada, doutor
E não pensa no future
E minha filha está solteira, doutor (original version in Portuguese)

She doesn't even come home anymore, doctor She hates my dresses My daughter is a serious case, doctor Now she's living with this so-called Roque Enrow (...)

29. Patti and Robert lived a complicated love relationship and a long everlasting friendship. They started dating when she moved to New York and soon started living together. During their relationship, Robert was discovering his interest in men, which rocked their relationship. Patti and Robert remained friends, sharing a studio apartment in New York even after splitting up. Smith wrote *Just Kids* to be love and a farewell letter to Mapplethorpe.

She doesn't want to be treated, doctor And doesn't think about the future My daughter is single, doctor (Coelho and Lee 1975, author's translation)

In the song, which was released on the album *Fruto Proibido* (1975) by Rita Lee with the band Tutti Frutti, the lyrical self complains about how her daughter began to move away from the feminine standards of society at the time: not wanting to stay at home – denying the idea of female domesticity –, hating her mother's dresses, without thinking about the future and marriage, and, consequently, running away from the idea of creating a family. The song portrays the mother's concern, which falls precisely on these breaches of socially instituted standards of femininity that are broken as acts of rebellion on the daughter's part.

Despite its alleged masculinity, rock, and also some of its subgenres such as punk and heavy metal, was also a critical style for young girls in forming their identities. It was precisely in the musical genre scenes that they could stand out from the impositions of domestic and patriarchal adulthood reality, questioning the impositions of sexual gender conditioning women to the role of mothers and homemakers (Gottlieb and Wald 2014). For this reason, many women and young girls were inserted into musical subcultures, creating their communities – societies within societies –, (re)shaping their way of consumerism and thinking of ways to interact with each other actively and demonstrate their passions for music, artists, and bands. Still, very few studies have been dedicated to them until a particular historical moment, as McRobbie and Garber (2006) criticize. This reality changed first in the academic scenario, at least after the development of urban cultural studies. However, rock is still understood as more of a 'masculine' music production than other popular music. Hence the effort of some authors to carry out scholarships to precisely change this predominating perception (Casadei 2013, Facchini 2011, Gelain 2017, Groce and Cooper 1990, Guerra 2020, Medeiros 2016, Strong 2011).

Meltzer (2010) positions rock culture around the construction of a 'boys club' despite the definitive presence of female names such as Janis Joplin, Carole King, and Carly Simon: "Rock was about virtuosity and, unless you're a diva, virtuosity has always been associated with being male" (06). Confronted with a scenario that favored the creation of hypermasculine spaces and practices (Heritage 2016), women in rock began to perform and insert themselves in those more underground musical styles, such as punk or grunge, which allowed the production of music while rejecting the "technical virtuosity and professionalism in favor of amateurishness iconoclasm, and a do-it-yourself aesthetic" (Meltzer 2010: 06).

Within this context, Black artists such as Poly Styrene and Tina Bell debuted on stage with their respective bands, paving the way for other artists. In an interview with Lucy O'Brien (2012), Poly Styrene says she felt that punk could "change women's position in the business" (ebook position 2233) as she and other women in the scene gained more space. They fought against female sexualization and for the right to create and be heard. Styrene has become a rock benchmark for girls and women, often referred to as the first Riot Grrrl. More recently, this reference has been evidenced by productions that recount this trajectory: a biography, *Dayglo!: The Poly Styrene Story*, by Celeste Bell and Zoe Howe (2019); an exhibition covering her years as the leader of X-Ray Spex titled *Identity! A Poly Styrene Retrospective*<sup>30</sup>; and a documentary film, *I Am A Cliché*, directed by Celeste Bell and Paul Sng (2021). Furthermore, even today, in Brazilian rock scenes, it is not uncommon to hear that the vocalist is still referred to as an inspiration for the breaking of patriarchal paradigms by girls and women.

Arts and Learning in London, UK. More info: https://bit.ly/3bndEbo

<sup>30.</sup> The exhibition was on display between May 17 and June 17 of 2019, at the 198 Contemporary

<sup>31.</sup> More info: https://www.polystyrenefilm.net/

Even so, the case of Tina Bell (see appendix) is a symptom of the erasure that influential Black women suffer in rock. Tina was the lead singer of one of Seattle's first grunge bands, Bam Bam. According to an article written by journalist Jen B. Larson for the digital magazine *Please Kill Me: This Is What's Cool*, published September 3, 2020, references to Tina Bell and even Bam Bam are scarce. Larson mentions that the singer disappears even in the article "Grunge, Riot Grrrl and the Forgetting of Women in Popular Culture", written by scholar Catherine Strong (2011), in which the author proposes to "examine the processes of remembering and forgetting that have surrounded the women involved in the 'grunge' movement" (398) from a survey of media sources and interviews with fans of the genre "to show how women are generally written out of historical accounts of music to reinscribe the creative dominance of men in this field" (idem). And, in a way, the erasure of Tina Bell's importance to rock memory proves Strong's thesis.

The infrequent references to Tina Bell pervade not only gender issues but also the problems around race and representation; the same thing happened to Rosetta Tharpe: double invisibility rooted in the double risk faced by Black women inserted in white and patriarchal Western societies (Beal 2009). Paraphrasing Audre Lorde (2007), speaking and being heard—breaking the barriers of silencing imposed by sexism and racism—is a tool of empowerment for all women, especially Black women. Knowing and recognizing women like Rosetta Tharpe, Poly Styrene, and Tina Bell, recognizing them as fundamental people for rock music, is to empower other girls, women, and other people that might identify with them, who entered rock music scenes after—and the ones that will still occupy at these spaces.

The low feminine presence, legitimation, and visibility in rock'n'roll are consequences of the reproduction of Western misogynistic behavior that diminishes the relevance of feminine work in all areas deemed as more 'masculine.' Paula Guerra (2020) points out, for example, that the number of women working in the contemporary Portuguese

rock scene is only 8%. For the author, this low number is representative of the male Portuguese sexist society that prevents – or looks down on – the female presence in the public space. Even in self-proclaimed egalitarian scenes, as is the case of straight edge,<sup>32</sup> for example, the number of women in organizations and productions, as well as on stage, integrating bands, is scarce, reproducing the biased look of gender roles inevitably embedded in many societies.

Close to this reality is the case of Brazilian rock scenes. Janice Caiafa (1985) points out that the punk movement in big Brazilian cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Brasília, had a more prominent masculine presence and that the tone of violence – which characterized the 'gangs' – was excluded from the construction of femininity. Thus, the women in the movement were highly displaced from the stereotypical features of 'legitimate' punks – they were also often ridiculed by their male counterparts. The ethnographer reports that the position these women most accepted fit the category of a lover or sexual interest and possession, in other words: the girlfriend. Young girls who wanted to join the punk movement, hang out at the "meeting points," and become part of groups usually only got respect if they were girlfriends of one of the punk boys who were part of the scene. So much so that those who invested in playing in bands or who weren't interested in bonding with the boys did not circulate in the same places. As Caiafa (1985) writes:

When I met the punks, I initially approached the boys; I was immediately welcomed among them. Girls were constantly the target of their backbiting, while at the same time, it was known that they spoke for their side. The situation for the girls in SP [Sao Paulo] was more difficult to imagine, but the men that came here never referred to them with sympathy. (...) I wanted to approach them, and they would not receive me.

<sup>32.</sup> Subgenre of punk rock and often considered a safe space for women and non-binary people. Straight edges are vegetarian/vegan activists and restrain the use of any type of drugs, including alcohol. In Brazil, the straight edge scene was one of the first to welcome women in every sector, from production to performance and as part of the public.

Because I was among the boys and, I believe, something denounced a difference and provoked mistrust (108)

The very proximity of women to men created a feeling of estrangement and distrust on the part of the 'punk girls' who wanted to be in the movement but did not want to get romantically or sexually involved with any of the guys.

These experiences between genres are reported in different rock scenes from other countries, and, although much has changed, it is still a fundamental part of the structuring of the genre itself – increasing and preserving the marks of this type of sexism. Thus, we observe a constant erasure of the female presence or their determination to most 'appropriate' places in rock. Strong (2011: 401), for example, reinforces the thesis that it is much easier to find women in rock music as "sexualized vocalists" than "playing instruments."

Bilbao (2015) defines three stereotypical rock categories for women: the 'fanatical' consumer fans, groupies, and the girls in the band. Fanatics are those represented, usually by the mass media, as a homogeneous group of girls and young women crying and screaming during concerts or at appearances of their favorite bands and artists. The most famous images of these moments are perhaps those associated with The Beatles – the reason why the term Beatlemania became so popular in the 1960s. Contemporarily, this characteristic seems more tied to pop groups and artists like One Direction and Taylor Swift. Bilbao (2015) even draws a parallel between these fans and male fans of female pop artists when explaining how record companies explored the relationship between fans and artists:

However, with the arrival of Madonna and others, a new version of the fan phenomenon opened up, one that drew the diva with her gay and female fandom but established a different relationship. In the case of Madonna and other divas, relationships of identification with the artist are mobilized. When those on stage were male groups, what was mobilized was female desire, and typical heteronormative masculinity was put into play (until the contrary was discovered), completely narcissuses to be sold as an object of consumption (83).

According to the excerpt above, the consumption relationship between female and male pop fans is not negotiated with equality within the industry itself, where female heteronormative sexuality is used as a bargaining chip. Female sexuality will also appear in the second category proposed by Bilbao. Groupies are the figures that technically serve to favor male members of rock bands. This categorization refers to how women were more observed in rock scenes until the 1990s when a more fruitful change took place in these spaces due to the growth of movements such as Riot Grrrl and the development and popularization of the feminist movement (Bilbao 2015, Casadei 2013, Gottlieb and Wald 2014). Until the 1990s, rock women were understood exclusively as girlfriends of the boys in the band, with their participation diminished and, in many cases, having their music knowledge and interest questioned.

The last categorization and, perhaps, the one that needs more problematization at this moment is the girl in the band. Inspired by the autobiographical book by Kim Gordon, who was bassist, songwriter, and vocalist for the alternative rock band Sonic Youth, Bilbao describes the girl in the band as the exception, relegated to more feminine roles in the band, which behaves with a certain sweetness and delicacy and, many times, is also sexualized to attract more male fans. Kim Gordon (2016) writes in the first few pages of the book:

Sonic Youth had always been a democracy, but we all had our roles, too. I took my place in the center of the stage. (...) It was a choreography that dated back twenty years, to when Sonic Youth first signed with Geffen Records. It was then that we learned that for the high-end music labels, the music matters, but a lot comes down to how the girl looks. The girl anchors the stage, sucks in the male gaze, and, depending on who she is, throws her own gaze back out into the audience. (03-04)

As noticed by Gordon's years of experience, the girl in the band is sometimes the advertisement of the band. Her participation attracts the "male gaze" and female fans' trust and identification. Reporting on the musician's experience, Bilbao (2015) remembers that she gained a place in the music business as "an icon of feminist empowerment (...) as *artistic* and

apparently untraditional as noise rock" (84), which opened room for other female artists but also pins her as an exception in the rock universe. Kim Gordon admits feeling the pressure of being often considered a pioneer in the genre, with limited access to specific spaces and the constant questioning for high-quality performances.

The limitation of spaces and the devaluation that Kim Gordon reports in her book and that Strong and Guerra mention in their respective works reminds me of the experience of two women in Brazilian rock: Rita Lee and Lucinha Turnbull.

Rita Lee is undoubtedly an absolute reference in Brazilian rock and MPB.<sup>33</sup> She began working professionally with music in 1968 when she joined the trio Os Mutantes (see appendix), along with musicians Arnaldo Baptista and Sérgio Dias. Rita participated in the band as a vocalist, instrumentalist, and composer; however, despite being a very skilled multi-instrumentalist, she became best known for her voice and eventually earned the title of The Queen of Rock in Brazil (Aguiar 2017), being a reference for many young artists – especially women.

Despite Rita Lee's indisputable success and relevance to Brazilian rock, for a long time, she seemed to be alone on a pedestal as the female spokesperson for the genre in Brazil. At the same time, there are countless male references in the same genre. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that women who are effectively successful – or gain space – eventually venture behind the microphone or are mostly there, consolidating the perspective that there is a delimited place for women within the music; the problem is to go beyond that limit and be recognized for it.

<sup>33.</sup> Popular Brazilian Music, is an 'umbrella' music genre from Brazil that takes on different genres constructed in the country, including bossa nova, samba, and choro.

Nonetheless, Rita Lee is not the only example of a rocker, although she is perhaps the most famous. While figures like Sergio Mendes, Joao Gilberto, Max Cavalera, and Andreas Kisser<sup>34</sup> are widely known and hailed for their guitar skills, little is said about Lucinha Turnbull (see appendix). Born Lúcia Maria Turnbull, she holds the title of being the first woman to play guitar professionally in Brazil; being her first work in a play by Luiz Antônio Martinez Correia at Teatro Oficina. Lucinha already knew Rita Lee and Os Mutantes when Rita was expelled from the band by Arnaldo Baptista after their breakup. In 1972, Lee proposed to Turnbull the creation of an acoustic musical duo named *Cilibrinas do Éden* (see fig. 6) (see appendix). They released an album in 1973 – considered one of the lost records of Brazilian national music (Fiori 2014) – and played at the Phono 73<sup>36</sup> festival. However, the public did not receive the duo very well, considering them too experimental. In that same year, Rita Lee and Lúcia Turn bull changed the psychedelic and acoustic sound for something more pop-rock, founding the band called Tutti Frutti.

<sup>34.</sup> All of them are listed on the website Ranker – where the public can vote and create lists in the 'best-of' style – under the title "Famous Guitar Players from Brazil." To see the list: https://www.ranker.com/list/famous-guitar-players-from-brazil/reference

<sup>35.</sup> Teatro Oficina Uzyna Uzona is a theater company created and directed by the theatrist José Celso Martinez Corrêa. It was founded in 1958 in Sao Paulo and is in activity until today, being the oldest theatrical company in operation.

<sup>36.</sup> Brazilian popular music festival that took place at the Anhembi Convention Center, Sao Paulo, between 10 and 13 of May 1973.



Figure 6- Lucinha and Rita (Cillibrinas do Éden) at Phono 73 [1973]. Source:

Musicastória.<sup>37</sup>

Lucinha's relevance to Brazilian music is vast, especially if considering that she is one of the first female guitarists to play professionally with different central names.<sup>38</sup>

However, information about her career is still scarce in media vehicles and academic records.

After the 1980s, when she left the label Odeon and tried to pursue an independent solo career – without much success – Turnbull moved to Germany to take care of her daughter.<sup>39</sup> This

<sup>37.</sup> https://bit.ly/3b4YrNa

<sup>38.</sup> She participated in the production of significant albums for Brazilian popular music, such as Gilberto Gil's *Refavela* (1977) and *Refestança* (1977), and Guilherme Arantes' *Coração Paulista* (1980).

<sup>39.</sup> Although this research does not aim to delve into the issues surrounding motherhood, it is practically impossible not to mention that many music female professionals choose to abandon their careers – or enter long periods of hiatus – in favor of raising children. This seems to be related to the construction of compulsory maternity as a way of controlling the female body and the process of devaluation of female work (Federici 2018) – a reality also presents in the lives of female music professionals. This is evidenced by the works of O'Brien (2012) and Zanellato (2020): many artists gave up their careers or took long breaks from them to take on the role of domestic administration after they had children. In addition to Lúcia Turnbull, I can also mention as examples Patti Smith, The

was a determining factor in her career as, while living abroad, she almost definitely moved away from the Brazilian music market. She only returned to Brazil in 2011, when she relaunched her career at the *Virada Cultural* in São Paulo.<sup>40</sup> In an interview published on April 4, 2013, for Natacha Cortêz of TPM magazine, after mentioning the guitarist's low visibility, asking Turnbull how it is to be a more *cult* figure, the musician responds:

I don't have this vanity. I think things happen for a reason. I think I must have behaved well; I'm very well received here in Sao Paulo, they want to know what I'm doing. I've been here for two years. In Rio, if you're not at Globo, you're nobody, you know? (Turnbull in interview with Cortêz 2013: online, translation by the author)<sup>41</sup>.

Looking for information about her, I found some mentions on sporadic blog articles and online channels specialized in music. The most *relevant*, so to speak, <sup>42</sup> sources of information were the TPM interview, appearances in the programs Todo Seu from Rede Gazeta, and Metrópolis<sup>43</sup> from Rede Cultura (both in 2016) and participation in a broadcast by Rádio

Velvet Underground drummer Moe Tucker, singer Leonor Marchesi, and X-Ray Spex's Poly Styrene.

Cases in which men leave the stage and the performance life to experience fatherhood are rare – or practically non-existent – which reinforces the logic of *double standards* when it comes to gender,

career, and family care.

40. Virada Cultural is an annual cultural event that happen in the city of Sao Paulo since 2005.

Promoted by the city's municipality, the event is free of charge and, for a period of 24h, hosts music

shows, theatre performances, and art and historical expositions, among other activities.

41. Original text: "Não tenho isso de vaidade. Acho que as coisas acontecem por algum motivo. Acho

que eu devo ter me comportado bem, sou muito bem recebida aqui em São Paulo, querem saber o que

estou fazendo. Estou aqui há dois anos. No Rio, se você não está na Globo, não é ninguém, sabe?"

42. More info: https://bit.ly/2HVvras.

43. More info: https://bit.ly/2kr0rYv.

71

Cultura in 2011.<sup>44</sup> From these small program attendances and brief mentions, I infer a latent lack of visibility of Turnbull, a symptom of the historical silencing females suffered throughout popular music history – and I highlight rock music, for instance – that led to the shrinking of the importance of such a fundamental instrumentalist who still works actively.

I believe it is possible to trace back this *shrinkage* to understand where it begins in Lucinha's history. This behavior reflects the treatment that record companies provided to women, in general, but mainly instrumentalists at the time when Turnbull was building her career within the Brazilian music market. Lúcia comments that she left Tutti Frutti because the label did not see the point in a rock band with two women in its formation: "as far as I know, the label didn't want two women. They wanted to concentrate everything on one [woman] (...). I didn't feel well, of course. It was kind of 'either us or Lucia.' And then Rita joined Som Livre" (Turnbull in interview with Cortêz 2013: online, translation by the author). This account demonstrates the loneliness women experienced in the music industry of the 1970s in Brazil, in addition to reinforcing the stereotype of rock as a masculine style. As much as women were playing and being part of bands in the mainstream and big records and labels, female presence was deliberately limited with the justification of selling, a stain of sexist capitalism that corroborates the pretentious understanding that men have more ability to produce quality art, therefore, deserving more space in the creative industry (Mayhew 1999).

In addition to solitude, this practice also consolidates female competition in the music market. As many record companies began stipulating that bands could have only one woman

<sup>44.</sup> More information: https://bit.ly/2ZpAzwY.

<sup>45.</sup> Original text: "Mas até onde eu sei, a gravadora não quis duas mulheres. Eles queriam concentrar tudo em uma só. (...) Não fiquei bem, claro. Foi meio que "ou a gente, ou a Lúcia". E então a Rita entrou na Som Livre."

and, preferably, behind microphones, the competitiveness for the 'place of women' increased. Women were, once more, categorized by their gender and not their artistic and technical quality. In rock bands, they were accepted on roles in which visibility is easier to manage – hence, so few women appear as drummers. Their value is also connected with their gender. In the interview I conducted with Gê Vasconcelos on October 4, 2019, she told me that she felt some female musicians she worked with tend to make less effort after getting to some stages of recognition by their male peers and band colleagues. "'Cause, what happens a lot is that... A girl [has the capacity] to play a lot, but people think the girl is a level below. So, she doesn't even do good stuff, so people think she's at the peak of her capacity. And she goes believing it" (Vasconcelos 2019). <sup>46</sup> To the percussionist, that is the point at which some women tend to accept their 'place' in heavy metal bands – a mediocre position judged as less capable by their male counterparts. In Vasconcelos' words: "The fucked-up thing is when they believe it." Then, these women do not fight for space among men to increase female visibility but comply with stereotypes and categorizations that reinforce their *unusuality* in male-dominated groups.

Thus, stories like that of Kim Gordon and Lucia Turnbull seem to be common in rock, not only in the more mainstream spaces of music but also in the more underground environments. Even so, I notice that it is precisely in these more underground environments that the possibility of subversion becomes more recurrent. Rock instrumentalists have more significant space for movement and exchanges in a place where values such as authenticity,

<sup>46.</sup> Original: "Porque o que acontece muito é que... Uma menina que toca muito, mas as pessoas acham que ela tá um nível abaixo. Então ela nem faz a coisa direito então as pessoas acham que ela tá no auga da capacidade dela. E ela acaba acreditando nisso."

<sup>47.</sup> Original: "O foda é que elas acreditam nisso."

virtuosity, or knowledge are negotiated differently. Therefore, I present below the most indepth debate about female drummers in the underground rock scenes.

1.3 Rebel girl, rebel girl:<sup>48</sup> Grrrls, drummers, and women in the rock underground
Argentinian journalist Romina Zanellato (2020) wrote in her book Brilla La Luz para Ellas:
A history of the women in Argentine rock 1960-2020:

The appearance of the feminist Riot Grrrl groups was important in what is called the third wave of feminism. Part of the defiant attitude of these punk musicians was to experiment with a new way of being a feminist. The claims focused on going against sexual violence, in favor of freedom of sexual choice, and against the neoliberal and ultra-capitalist individualism of the time (ebook position 3648-3637).

Despite speaking from the Argentinian musical context, the author managed to accurately summarize the meaning of Riot Grrrl, connecting its American origins to the third feminist wave and the positioning of women in the music industry after this disruption in the rock scenes.

As I showed above, Riot Grrrl, certainly, was not the only – or first – moment in which women were able to overcome gender differences and put themselves on the music map. However, Riot Grrrl made more explicit the debate around the sexism affecting rock music and the entertainment industry. Riot Grrrl was a movement wholly rooted in the antiestablishment, anti-patriarchal, and anti-capitalist underground logic, which could affect even the most commodified sectors of the entertainment industry.

<sup>48.</sup> Line from the song *Rebel Girl* of the US punk band Bikini Kill, the composition is shared by the members of the band, and it released in 1993 (see appendix).



Figure 7- Kathleen Hanna (Bikini Kill) tells girls to go to the front of the stage. Source: Reproduction The Punk Singer (2013)

Marisa Meltzer (2010) parallels Riot Grrrl and the famous art movement Girl Power. The exchange between these two fronts of youthful female creative demonstration – rooted in the logic of the counterculture – is possible precisely because they have a common goal: to show girls that they can do whatever they want. However, the fixation on a more academic logic made Riot Grrrl a not-so-accessible place for the majority (non-middle class and white) of girls looking for a feminist revolution in their everyday lives.

As Meltzer (2010) points out, the movement ended up reproducing the logic of hegemonic feminisms based on separating 'insiders' from 'outsiders.' This division was due to the level of popularity that, in many cases, fell into typical social hierarchies: class, schooling, and, of course, race. Another fact is that, despite Riot Grrrl carrying the anti-racist discourse, as emphasized by Casadei (2013), Facchini (2011), and Marcus (2010), most protagonists of the movement were white. Tânia Seles (2020) demonstrates this in the article "Sista Grrrl's Riot: Where Were Black Women in Riot Grrrl?", which features the feminist punk all-Black female band Sista Grrrls Riot. In the article, Seles argues that, even with the

participation of Black girls in Riot Grrrl, the references and leaders of the movement were white girls like Kathleen Hanna (fig. 7) and Tobi Vail:

There were black women present at Riot Grrrl, but they were few, and without protagonism, black women who liked punk at the time felt excluded from the scene and had few equals to recognize themselves. It's hard not to feel uncomfortable watching the documentary The Punk Singer [a documentary about the life of Kathleen Hanna] and realize that they weren't an effective part of the movement. And as much as Kathleen Hanna says that there were black women, they were not the ones who went down in the history of the movement (Seles 2020: online, author's highlights, translation by the author).<sup>49</sup>

Seles, therefore, demonstrates that the lack of representation and the tiny space for visibility was a big problem for Black punk girls. As a white bisexual girl with catholic roots living near an urban center, the first time I understood feminism was through Riot Grrrl. By the end of the 1990s, at the beginning of the 2000s, the internet was a big entrance door for me to access e-zines, get in touch with other girls that were constructing the same ideological thoughts as myself, and get some information about popular culture. The inherited concepts of girl love, girls to the front, body positivity, and female leadership were dear to me and spoke volumes. I knew that in my school – especially when I got to my teenage years – some non-white girls were also feminists, but they were not precisely Riot Grrrls. Instead of exchanging with them, I kept my community closer to the music, which meant I had whiter rocker boy-friends than feminist diverse girl-friends. Although this is just a small anecdote

<sup>49.</sup> Original text: "Existiram mulheres negras presentes no Riot Grrrl, mas eram poucas e sem protagonismo, as mulheres negras que gostavam de punk na época se sentiam excluídas da cena e tinham poucos iguais para se reconhecerem. É difícil não sentir um incômodo ao assistir ao documentário The Punk Singer e perceber que elas não faziam parte efetiva do movimento. E por mais que Kathleen Hanna diga que havia mulheres negras, não foram elas que entraram para a história do movimento."

based on my youth years, this experience was also felt and shared by other people I got to know later – on both ends.

When Melina Santos and I started to search the heavy metal and punk scene for Black Riot Grrrls (Medeiros and Santos Silva 2022) we got to talk with two Black Riots: Debby Mota (who is also an interlocutor for this research) and Priscilla Silva. They both had late experiences with Riot Grrrl, only really getting to know to movement after touring with their respective bands and after years of feminist activism. Much like in the rest of western civilization, in Brazil, Riot Grrrl just started to give space for non-white women to talk long after its creation (Medeiros and Santos Silva 2022). As Nguyen (2012) points out, such exclusion and late importance to Black women, for instance, is an inherited trend of punk rock and its erasure of Black's key role. As a result, the ideological perspective in Riot Grrrl tended to be the white one. Even though the movement was inspired by critical Black women such as Poly Styrene, Black girls remained on the sidelines from its origin's history. Even with the irreverence of punk, the politics of Do It Yourself, and the aim of fighting against a system that teaches submission and domesticity to young girls, the Riot Grrrl had genuine barriers when it came to reaching some groups of girls and women who needed support from a feminist movement.

This does not detract from the importance of Riot Grrrl in the popularization of feminism in the twenty-first century – especially when it comes to online feminist activism.

The issue of the range of feminist agendas was already a recurring problem that was partly solved by the cultural movement of these young women in the 1990s. As Casadei (2013) points out, in more traditional feminist movements, until then, it was not so easy to be heard – considering that traditional feminist movements also could not reach girls from different generations, causing youth-related agendas to be diminished. In the Brazilian context, the

popular Women's Movement<sup>50</sup> was much more focused on practical agendas connected to adulthood, such as female rights in the work market, leadership and hierarchical positions in unions, and other demands associated with domestic life. With its "idea of starting a girl gang or a girl riot [that] had been percolating since punk's inception" (Meltzer 2010: 5), Riot Grrrl is presented as a solution for Brazilian girls that wish to discuss diverse female sexuality, the discovery of the body, art production and identity expression through art, and girl's agency in subcultures.

What is important to highlight is that it was not just punk that strengthened the structures of Riot Grrrl, but the rock underground scene. Following the logic of Gottlieb and Wald (2014), to think of Riot Grrrl and the underground female revolution in music as part of the rebellion against only specific musical scenes or genres, such as punk and hardcore, is to enclose the whole movement in its sound, limiting the complex community that emerges from independent rock. Thus, the authors argue that female bands and artists seem to have more room to invent, produce, and perform their songs in the 'independent' space of music, that is, of small labels and records, grassroots nightclubs, and bars.

In contrast, when managed by mainstream labels and agencies, these freedoms are somewhat pruned to fit in with what is making success. It is not my aim to delve deeply into a debate about the differences and disputes surrounding the mainstream and the underground. Other authors have extensively debated the disputes and exchanges between these value frames (e.g., Cardoso Filho and Jannotti Jr 2006, De Marchi 2008, Galleta 2014, Herschmann 2011, Klein, Meier, and Powers 2016). I am more interested in the debate of how many

<sup>50.</sup> As I will present further in the second chapter, the feminist movement in Brazil was widely known as 'Movimento das Mulheres', or Women's Movement. It articulated intersectional ideas of class and race long before the debate was popularized in Anglo and European countries, which calls into question the implementation of the feminist waves in a Brazilian context.

female bands and instrumentalists – especially drummers – inside the rock umbrella will, at some point, have a strong connection with the underground and independent music universe: an observation I made during the fieldwork for this scholarship. Perhaps my gaze was affected by the place I emerged from to do the investigation. From the beginning, my interest was to investigate feminine experience in rock and heavy metal, and most participants were involved in this context.

However, when I opened my scope and started conversing with women and nonbinaries working in other music genres, I noticed something of rock – and Riot Grrrl – in their strategies and music activisms. Practices that already existed but were popularized mainly by Riot Grrrl, such as the creation of communities within music communities (girl gang), the recognition of the establishment as a sexist environment, and the concepts of Do It Yourself, "Revolution, Girl Style," are majorly employed. Even the idea of creating "safe spaces" was restored in a cultural sense by Riot Grrrls. In Marcus' (2010: 282) words: "[In Riot Grrrl] All-female events or groups were commonly described as "safe spaces" – insulated from any hint of male violence."

In these terms, safe spaces are perceived as crucial to almost all participants in this research. No wonder all-female workshops and camps, like *Hi-Hat Girls*, *ASA*, *Liberta*, and *Girls Rock Camp*, are highly popular with the group of female musicians. For the same safety reason, all-female and LGBTQI+ friendly independent music enterprises, such as PWR Records and Efusiva Records, are created on an underground level. Independent women and nonbinaries musicians need these resistance spaces to survive in the industry. These spaces are also key tools for their maintenance in the industry, their creative production, and the construction of these people's visibility.

One example of this necessity is in Romina Zanellato's (2020) report on female

Argentinian rockers. She writes that vocalist and lyricist Cristina Plate (see appendix) was the

first woman in Argentine rock history to record a single. This record was made independently, becoming the first song on the Mandioca label.<sup>51</sup> The independent music space allowed Cristina to place herself as the first Argentine rock vocalist in history, but that did not mean that she was well accepted by the public. Zanellato recounts that because of the poor treatment and hostility she received from the crowd and some peers, in 1969, Plate almost disconnected from the rock scene in the country. Still, the space of independent music and rock underground showed itself, at least for a moment, as a space that validated her.

Musical independence and rock underground differ in the sense that, while the former is much more associated with the idea of production, with labels and record companies that convey the concept of freedom for artistic creativity, the latter is characterized more as an ideological aesthetic of denial of 'the system' – mainly capitalism and neoliberalism. In this second setting, women's participation was limited to gendered roles (Casadei 2013, Bilbao 2015, Zanellato 2020). And it is precisely in it that Riot Grrrl emerged as a possibility of resistance, with criticism of gender segregation in the rock underground scene and making themselves heard as a mass of dissatisfied girls – not just as exceptions that prove the rule, as seemed to happen frequently in a such musical context.

O'Brien (2012) suggests that, while punk rock was an emancipation for boys, first it was a tool for girls' liberation and Riot Grrrls screamed that they weren't being heard. As Gottlieb and Wald (2014) advocate, the standards surrounding female cultural expression are different from those imposed on men, adding to the anti-establishment fight the rebellion against patriarchal control, and the discovery of sexuality. These are:

(...) two themes that predominate not only music, but the formation of Western teenage identity in general. The conjunction of these two terms intimates that the
 51. Mandioca was an Argentine rock record label that operated during the 1960s and 1970s. The first album produced by the label was titled Mandioca Underground (1969) and featured songs by Cristina

Plate and another Argentine rocker, Samantha Summers, as well as other male bands and artists.

forms of resistance offered by rock culture are closely linked with the music's frank expressions of sexuality (252).

From the authors' perspective, rock'n'roll – particularly underground styles – is the perfect environment for female rebellion. In other words: rock is feminine.

In this context, it is not surprising that the public tends to connect bands like L7 and As Mercenárias (see appendix) with Riot Grrrl – even though they preceded the movement, in some ways setting the stage for it. As Casadei (2016) shows, the Riot Grrrl environment stimulates exchanges based on rock'n'roll culture, and the music itself is a tool for sharing personal experiences and creating communities. This is not to say that the relationships between these girls were without conflict. Perhaps, one of the most emblematic conflicts is the dispute between Kathleen Hanna – one of the most prominent figures in the Riot Grrrl movement – and Courtney Love, songwriter, vocalist, guitarist, and leader of the band Hole (see appendix). The two figures were, and still, are, examples of the feminist and feminine contravention of in? rock underground. The differences between Hanna and Love echoed precisely on an ideological basis. Kylie Murphy (2001) points out that, while the former – together with her band Bikini Kill – rejected the massive and traditional means of production, supporting the idea of a feminist cultural unification and production front, the second never refused to sign contracts with major labels or big brands, always making it clear that her goal with music was fame.

The tension between Kathleen Hanna and Courtney Love reverberated among the Riot Grrrls, who, in many ways, inherited the fight from the leader of Bikini Kill. A lot of them ended up antagonizing the leader of Hole because of her positioning – and after in 1995, Love punched Hanna in the face backstage at a Lollapalooza<sup>52</sup> – "Grrrl love, not Courtney

<sup>52.</sup> This is some of the biggest controversies between the two musicians and was widely used as a tool to dismiss Love's importance.

Love' was the official slogan of a 1996 Riot Grrrl convention" (Murphy 2001, 146). When the band's second album, *Live Through This* (1994), was released in a less 'raw,' punk, and amateur concept than the first – *Pretty on the Inside* (1991) – many girls became disillusioned and stopped defending her. Love also lost the affection of Riot Grrrls, according to Murphy (2001), when Courtney began to have a romantic relationship with Kurt Cobain, guitarist, vocalist, and leader of the grunge band Nirvana and one of Kathleen Hanna's best friends. Until today, people consider that she got involved with him only when Nirvana started to get more famous on the scene. The fact that she wanted to be as renowned as he only made it worse for her critics, and she earned the title of one of the most hated 'wives' in rock'n'roll.<sup>53</sup>

While the media thrived on the dispute between two rock artists who, initially, circulated through the same grunge and punk underground scenes, I believe that the relationship – albeit disruptive – between women from similar backgrounds but in different circles is a landmark of what was happening with rock in the 1990s. Until then, female disputes within the rock underground scenes were occasional, and when they did appear, clashes rarely occurred between artists from pivotal bands. The feeling is that, before the 1990s, due to the low number of women in the scene and the consequent low female visibility, those who wanted to maintain their position in these spaces needed to unite with each other – and keep differences out of it.

The attempt to classify groups of women in rock scenes as homogeneous, where only similarities were exhibited – which often happens with the labeling of female rockers in the

<sup>53.</sup> The list was published on the website Showbiz CheatSheet, by Jacqueline Sahagian on February 9, 2017. The list is biased and put the marriage of great artists, like Yoko Ono, Audrey Williams, and Courtney Love, with rock geniuses as their biggest achievement – something that illustrates the way women are often relegated to the role of wives and mothers before being considered artists. The list is available at: https://bit.ly/2NGci2V.

1990s as if they were all members of the Riot Grrrl – seems, as Strong (2011) argues, a way of silencing or diminishing the importance of these figures and ensure the musical genre as something masculine. In other words, putting a diverse group together, ignoring their differences, and even creating an equivalence between their skills engenders the process of tokenism based on gender. The dispute between Courtney Love and Kathleen Hanna, despite potentially reverberating the stereotype of female rivalry between musical artists (Meltzer 2010), allows the wide-open view that women in the underground were not equal but had different ideologies and, like every human being, would often not get along well with each other. Perhaps, as Murphy (2001) points out, this dispute was an important milestone for feminism that tends to create too much equality between women, erasing differences and individualism.

As I will demonstrate further, the differences appear in the characteristics and background stories of the participants in this research. Even if they have avoided discussing the problems, they might have with each other or the differences that might appear when working together – avoidance that might occur because of the diminishing of the importance of these events, or to try and keep a feminist pattern of behavior –, the differences are apparent. One example of this comes from the experience of Debby Mota, <sup>54</sup> former drummer and vocalist at the punk band Klitores Kaos (see appendix). Today, Debby works as a tattoo artist in Belo Horizonte in Minas Gerais state, having moved out from Belém in 2021. They explained to me that the reason they decided to leave the band and move to another state was due to problems she had being a mixed race (Black and Indigenous), being a pansexual, and nonbinary person in the underground scene of the city. Mota recount conflicts they had with

<sup>54.</sup> The interview was made on May 14, 2021, through text and audio exchange on the instant messaging app WhatsApp.

radical feminists – rad fem – that were behaving in a transphobic way and explained to me the little support on the scene. They decided to step down from the band and the scene to safeguard their mental health. Debby embodied the differences that one might hold and for that, they felt unwelcome in a space they helped build. As I previously noted (Medeiros and Santos Silva 2022), their detachment from the rock underground scene is a consequence of the non-recognition of diversity and the non-acceptance of discourses that leave what is normative or accepted behind, which is a massive problem in Riot Grrrl that tends to standardize their participants' stories, experiences, and perspectives in favor of an idea of unity.

Besides that, many rock underground scenes gained the reputation of being violent spaces. Gigs are marked by loud music, in some cases screaming. Performances receive somewhat aggressive responses from the audience – some well-known answers are the mosh pit dance<sup>55</sup>, the wall of death<sup>56</sup>, and headbanging <sup>57</sup>–, and are known for a visual aesthetic that is predicated on shock and misdemeanor, among other signs that seemed to give the underground its fame as a masculine space (as testified by Marques 2013, Medeiros 2017, Schaap and Berkers 2014), or where the hegemonic 'masculinity' is more evident (Guerra 2020). Indeed, some scenes subvert the idea of male violence, as is the case of straight-edge groups that defended gender equality, veganism, and the non-consumption of narcotics

<sup>55.</sup> The public in front of the stage (on the pit) forms circles where people dance and hit each other purposefully. The fastest the music, the fastest people dance, the louder and extremer the performance, the bigger and more violent the mosh gets.

<sup>56.</sup> Also known as a wall, the audience participating in the performance is divided in half and, usually, at the behest of the band's vocalist, they run in opposite directions, colliding with their bodies.

57. The act of fiercely shaking the head back and forth.

(Facchini 2011). However, as Guerra (2020) points out, even these spaces needed to deal with hypocrisy:

(...) the lyrics of *straight-edge* bands postulate the defense of gender equality but never managed, nor was it close, to end all this sexism and misogyny. However, it is severe the fact that this problem is self-inflicted. These are musical movements that have in their *ethos* the defense of gender equality. What is found is a rupture between discourse and practice (182).

In the rock underground scenes, there has been a dismantling of the idea that masculinity relates to violence, as Abda Medeiros (2017) demonstrates in her research. This, however, does not necessarily mean these scenes are entirely safe for women or nonbinary people. Schaap and Berkers (2014) argue that the low female presence in extreme metal scenes, for example, has consequences for women who achieve some relevance as artists, especially from the public. This is because, at first, the members of the scene are seen as tokens (symbols), that is, "part of a numerical and symbolic minority (...) evaluated on their group category and non-ability traits rather than their individual skills" (102). Gender designation further reinforces that women and nonbinaries need to fulfill a particular role in the scene; after all, they are merely symbolic. According to the authors, the consequences of tokenism are a) the impositions of gender and gendered evaluations on how women should behave in these scenes or which spaces they can occupy – reinforcing the idea of female categories, as I discussed previously; b) the reinforcement of the masculinized look; and c) the adverse and surprised reactions on the part of the male members of the scene, when women decide to break the gender determination and occupy spaces that, supposedly, do not belong to them which I propose as the process of creation of unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy in music.

Abda Medeiros (2017) discusses the female role in the "rock metal scenes" in Rio de Janeiro and Fortaleza. It follows as a complex dynamic involving the occupation of spaces, behaviors in concerts, and these women's very perception of themselves. The legitimization

process of these scenes members often does not include the idea of the collective or what the men in the scenes think or say about them. These women legitimize themselves of their own volition, "evoking that women do not perceive only the aesthetic aspect, the care of men for them or the feelings of belonging" (216).

This 'feeling of belonging' does not prevent the male gaze nor the possible misbehavior – or poor treatment – coming from the men. Based on my experience as a journalist in the rock underground of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the stories of some participants in this research, women and nonbinary rockers do not always manage to free themselves from the gender-biased gaze imposed on them sometimes even struggling to gain respect. For this reason, there is still a significant number of measures such as festivals, workshops, award events, and nightclubs that promote the idea of building safer spaces for women. On the one hand, the need for these actions is a sign that gender issues are still unresolved within the rock underground scene. On the other, they illustrate the increased number of women active in the scene who want to escape established standards and create opportunities for other people like them.

Thus, the acceptance of the work of women and nonbinary instrumentalists in music is a complex issue. The places and processes through which they achieve legitimacy are in constant dispute, shaped by the historical and cultural trajectory of Brazil and influenced by the very structures of capitalism and patriarchy. The challenges faced by women and nonbinaries in gaining a foothold in the creative market are rooted in the broader difficulty in accessing the labor market. This is especially true for female drummers, who face additional challenges that I will explore in the following discussion.

1.4 Creating polyrhythm: the brief history of women on drums

There is one thing that connects Madonna, Suzi Quatro, Björk, and Karen Carpenter: they all began their music careers as drummers, and they all gained more recognition as singers,

guitarists, and composers. The differences are all, but Karen Carpenter (see appendix) decided, of their own will, to leave the drum stool, and all of them have excellent and fulling music trajectories, while Carpenter encountered an unfortunate end.

Looking into popular music history and the stories of pioneer women, one might agree that feminized bodies can dominate a stage with their performances. No one can disagree that Madonna is a high-performance pop star, Suzi is an incredible bassist, Björk is an iconic and creative composer, and Karen's singing is practically incomparable. These women's legacies are uncontestable and made a mark in popular music. However, the front stage is not something everyone can – or should – handle.

Karen Carpenter (fig. 8) never wanted to leave the drums and step in the shoes of a front band singer, but she was pressured to do so by the producers, her brother, and even the media to go to the front stage. She fought a lot to keep her status, as biographer Randall Schmidt (2010) recalls:

In early 1971 Karen responded to suggestions that she should abandon her drums for a solo microphone in the spotlight. "A lot of people think that since I'm a lead singer, I should be fronting the group," she said. "I disagree because I think we've got enough chick singers fronting groups. I think that as long as I can play, I want to play" (84).

However, she was fighting a losing battle, and even if, in the beginning, she played all the drum lines and bass guitar in the Carpenter's songs, her time with the microphone increased progressively. At the same time, her drumming began to be left out. People that demanded more time from Karen in front of the stage, and less time behind a drum kit, would often argue that she was too pretty or had too much of a good voice to be trapped to an instrument that would shadow her. It is possible to see, nonetheless, that Karen loved the drums – she fought with a schoolteacher to learn the percussion – and felt shielded by the instrument being the shy and introspective girl that she was. She was not at all comfortable with being in

the limelight, and, in the end, that might be the reason for her image problems resulting in anorexia nervosa and her impending tragic end.



Figure 8- Karen Carpenter on her drums. Picture by: David Warner Ellis. Source: Getty Images.

One cruel lesson is learned from Karen's story: "Given the significant obstacles faced by Carpenter as a female drummer, it becomes more understandable (but no less concerning) that the traditional canon of historically significant drummers is overwhelmingly male" (Brennan 2020: 241). Considering that most participants in this research are drummers and that they understand the struggle of occupying a sit where they sometimes are not well received, I want to contextualize a bit about the story of female drummers and the drums in the story of women to try and answer the question: why did the drums start to be deemed as a 'masculine' instrument?

This is not a simple question to respond to because there are simply too many factors involved in the process of gendering. One way to go is to assume that this is a direct consequence of the patriarchal development that structures our current society. All the same, I believe we can venture more into that deliberation to assume that the drum in a rock context is also a representation of power.

To base this examination on, it is vital to connect the two main factors of this equation: power and percussion. As I previously and briefly demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, the modern drum kit's origins come from uncountable references of percussions possible to find throughout the world's history. Brennan (2020) will call the American drum kit a "cultural hybrid, with far-ranging influences that reflect the complex patterns of world migration from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century" (77). The author explains how the most famous U.S. drum-makers were immigrants, which justifies why many pieces of the drum kit are influenced by percussions from countries such as China, Spain, Mexico, Germany, Turkey, and so on.

Such hybridity meant that many of the preconceptions involving the percussions were embedded in the modern drum kit – including the gender issues. In *When Drummers Were Women* (2018), Layne Redmond argues that, for many premedieval European and African cultures, the percussions were sacred instruments; ritual tools used by shamans to aid in the trance process, having a profound connection with the feminine:

The rituals of the earliest known religions evolved around the beat of frame drums. These religions were founded on the worship of female deities – Mother Goddesses who evolved into the many goddesses of Mediterranean cultures in classical times. (...) As a result, women became the first technicians of the sacred, performing religious functions we would today associate with the clergy or priesthood. Sacred drumming was one of their primary skills (ebook position 118).

Proof of the connection between the feminine – or feminine deities – and the percussion are the findings of archaeological camps in the region of Eretz-Israel and cataloged by Sarit Paz (2007). The archaeologist points out that even though instruments such as frame drums have not been found in excavations in the locality, the numerous representations of female figures dating from the Iron Age II<sup>58</sup> holding what seem to be percussive instruments attest to their

89

<sup>58.</sup> Paz defines Iron Age II as between the years 1000 and 925 B.C.E.

use by women in a religious and domestic context. Other similar images were also found in the Phoenician Coast, Cyprus, and Syria regions, which makes it possible to think that different women, from the different areas, with other religions and cults, were playing percussions – which also gives sense to another important female activity in those societies.

In dialogue with archaeological and historical studies, Redmond (2018) delves deeper into the connection between female power and percussions. The author associates the musical practice with the human embryonic formation and its sensitive experience: "The pulse of our mother's blood was our first continuous experience as we quickened in the womb. Our physical being formed in response to the rhythms of her body" (ebook position 214). Hence, Redmond concludes that the worship of the fertility of the earth and the ability to generate life as something intrinsically feminine was directly associated with the sound of the frame drums.

Fundamentally correlated with religious rituals, percussion also had an important function in terms of social organization. An example is the *cultrun*, a drum used by the Mapuche ethnic people from the Andean regions between Chile and Argentina. Used as a ceremonial tool that, accompanied by other elements, could induce trance, the *cultrun* is used by Machi or shamans. According to Ana Mariella Bacigalupe (2007), Machi has various gender designations not determined by delimitations based on colonized and Eurocentric cultures. Thus, women and "partially cross-dressed men" were – and still are – shamans for the Mapuche.

Machi are important figures in the hierarchy of the Mapuche people. Traditionally, only Machi can play the *cultrun* – especially in ritualistic and sacred contexts. Each Machi has her *cultrun* from which she cannot separate, as the instrument is an open channel with the supernatural world and represents her spirit. 'Female' Machi draw on their *cultruns* the moon's phases, representing the power and cycle of female fertility (Bacigalupe 2007). Thus,

Machi's power and the hierarchy they represented in these pre-colonialized societies had, and still have, a strong connection with percussion. Taking into account that native shaman women were of great importance for the anti-colonial fights in the Americas (Federici 2019) and that, according to Martin Munro (2010: 28), religious practices and ceremonial dances in the so-called "New World" assisted in the organization of rebellions, while strengthening the idea of "community and identity," I gather that the Machi also had significant power in the context of anticolonial struggles. These women were responsible for keeping the traditions of their people alive. Because of them, the *cultrun* and its meaning were not lost in the process of the Mapuche genocide (literal and cultural). And it is possible to find today in modern drumming the influence of this type of frame drum in the drum kit's sound.<sup>59</sup>

Percussions, however, were not only used as tools for sacred rituals or connections to the supernatural world. As Marija Gimbutas (2001) shows in her study of the domination of the Kurgan<sup>60</sup> in the Eurasian region, percussions were also warfare tools. As the archaeologist points out, the Kurgan dominated the Indo-European peoples from the post-Paleolithic era until at least the Iron Age. The cultures before the Kurgan domination are then hybridized until they lose strength or change completely. One of the most striking changes is the presence and influence of women in society. Because of their patriarchal, violent, and dominant cultural structure, Kurgan women had little or no hierarchical importance in social arrangements. With the Kurgan domination in Eurasia, native women in the region's societies began to lose the roles they had previously held, especially the priesthood assignments and,

<sup>59.</sup> The *cultrun* sound closely resembles the floor tom, one of the largest parts of the modern drum kit. This resonates with Matt Brennan's (2020) argument that the modern drum kit draws inspiration from countless other percussions used by different peoples worldwide.

<sup>60.</sup> The nomenclature, introduced by Gimbutas (2001), was inspired by the graves of people who lived in the regions of what is now Eastern Europe.

consequently, the space for percussion. The Kurgans worshipped other types of gods, less connected to fertility and more connected to domination and subjugation. Following this pattern, they "imposed their fiercely patriarchal social system on the indigenous tribes they conquered" (Redmond 2007, ebook position 235). Theoretically speaking, Kurgan's domination in Eurasia, therefore, becomes one of the possible beginnings of female exclusion in public life.

Sexism and gender devaluation are, later, reinforced by other cultures and socioeconomic contexts, such as the development of wars (Gimbutas 2001) and the gender roles imposed by monotheistic religions (Redmond 2007). Over the centuries, females gradually lost their voice in public spaces and places of high hierarchy – starting with sacred environments. They undergo punishments when they are too vocal, too political, or too independent; Silva Federici (2019) argues that the Inquisition persecutions against women happened because of this challenge they represented to the patriarchal structure of the time.

Hence, it is possible to assume that the prohibition imposed on women from making music, since at least the time of Kurgan domination, connects with the limitation of women's involvement in activities happening in the public sphere. This is evidenced by the understanding that music is a valuable social organizer for creating and maintaining memories, cultures, and the construction of social norms and rules. It is "a tool of power that can be manipulated for various ends, including bringing people together under a collective banner (...), making people forget about social or political ills (...), and conversely reminding them constantly of expected norms (...)." (Munro 2010: 217).

This historical oppression and denial for women to handle percussion instruments resulted in the current difficulty in accepting that we – women – can play drums. In consequence, even if the use of percussion instruments is not – or should not be – guided by

gender, it is not uncommon to find stories of women who, as children, wanted to play the drums but were not allowed to because it was too much of a 'masculine' instrument.

This point, for me, structures the idea of occupation by women of unusual spaces for them when we are talking about drumming in rock bands. Because, as I presented in this chapter, women in rock'n'roll also were shunned on different levels, and relegated to roles that would fit them more in the patriarchal eyes. The drum stool was almost always considered a boy's space in this dynamic. The female drummers in this research are subverting the norms, even if their only wish is to play drums. By creating and engaging with networks that aid them and encourage other girls to play the drums, they inevitably occupy unusual spaces in the patriarchal structure. In this way, we further understand the system that constitutes these unusual spaces in music for women.

Chapter 2 | Rock around the tropic: Brazilian feminism and the Global South
In the present chapter, I advance the discussion about the global south and Brazilian
feminism while introducing the women that engaged with me for the current investigation.
Considering that most of the participants are originally from the Brazilian context and are
acting members of the rock underground scene through music-making, event organization,
and network participation, it is crucial to contextualize their experience.

The first debate emerges from the concept of 'the south' itself. Wendy Willems (2014) criticizes the misconception that understands the north as a creator of theories, while the south is merely a producer of data but never of knowledge. Raewyn Connell (2014) also evaluates this construction, pointing out that it is assumed "that the global South produces data and politics, but doesn't produce theory. By 'theory,' here, I mean creating agendas of research, critique, and action; conceptualizing, classifying, and naming; and developing methodology, paradigms of explanation, and epistemology" (520).

However, as I and many other scholars argue, the south has as much agency as the north, and it is an independent axis that produces meanings and values within itself (Willems 2014). The networks that I observe for this investigation languages and perform in a way that creates connections with other countries. For instance, it is possible to notice that the networks formed even in global south countries, as it is the case for the ones I analyze in the present work, have a global north way of functioning. Their structures and organization, and even the fact that some of those attain to anglophone names, is an indicative that even if south activism have as much agency as north, they still face limitations in terms of building up an action that varies from hegemonic structures.

Global south countries, in these terms, are not necessarily located in the planet's southern hemisphere. The notion of the 'global south' is much more tied to the idea of sociopolitical movements, especially considering the context of post-colonization. In such a

context, the development of feminism in the countries of the global south plays a role in the construction of a non-north-centric methodological perspective. According to Connell (2014), despite the critical shift that decolonial and transnational feminism has engendered in the Social Sciences – it is responsible for the changes in perspectives coming from the north looking at the south as a space of power and creation – there are still retrenchments in scholarship that focus their theoretical and methodological efforts on north-centric concepts. The question is precisely how to free oneself from the north-centric theoretical paradigms, considering that this is a feminist work and that it uses gender as its basic categorization. It was precisely in the methodological process that I found, perhaps, the way out of this problem.

By a political choice, or epistemic disobedience (Mignolo 2008), in the beginning of the investigation I chose to follow diverse methodologies and not only one school of thought. I let the field, the participants, and my own observation guide me to shape the questions I presented in this final version, as well as the best way to answer them. The methodological process was, therefore, a path developed simultaneously with the investigation itself. Such an approach was also necessary due to the different fields in which the research occurred. As I am presenting further in this chapter, the contact with the scene occurred on and offline; therefore, analyzing posts on Instagram had the same importance as conducting interviews.

After the beginning of the present investigation, I noticed that I could refer to the multi-sited ethnography as proposed by George Marcus (1995) because of my approach with the field. As I am explaining further, this method allows different approaches to a phenomenon or social occurrence to understand the big picture.

In this chapter, I bring the debate to the perspective of women and nonbinaries who are acting members of the music industry in Brazil and contribute to the creation of networks and safer spaces as well as my own perspective as a female Brazilian researcher. As the

largest territory in Latin America and one of the few non-Spanish-speaking countries in the region, <sup>61</sup> Brazil was historically detached from the imaginary of Latin identity. For many years, Brazil – as a State – detached itself from Latin culture and identity because of Portuguese colonization and its efforts in creating "national narratives that differentiate [Brazil] from their neighborhood and portray a clear mismatch between their aspirations and others' expectations for them" (Guimarães 2020: 603).

However, since the end of the Cold War, some changes have been happening in Brazil's collective perspective regarding national culture and identity in South and Latin America (Bethell 2010). Those changes are taking place, especially, in minority groups that tend to a left political positioning, by denying the impositions of coloniality and the imperialism promoted by the United States. The denial of imperialism and colonialism seems attached to the reinforcement of Latinity and the traces that approximate Brazilians to other Latin countries – mainly the Spanish-speaking ones.

At the time of writing, it is possible to encounter an increase in the appropriation of Latin identities from Brazilian feminists. Many of the projects here express in one way or another their Latinity, bringing closer Brazil and Latin America while negotiating global codes associated with rock music and underground scenes. And the internet has a responsibility for the dynamics of this identity construction.

61. In Latin America many indigenous languages still prevail, such as Guarani (spoken in Paraguay and parts of Brazil) and Quechua (spoken in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru). Some Latin languages exist because of the process of colonization, such as the case of Papamiento (a fusion of Creole, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and English; spoken in Aruba) and Sranan Tongo (with Creole roots, but mixing English, Portuguese, Dutch, Hindi, Javanese, and Maroon; spoken in Suriname). However, the European-based languages are the major influence, being Spanish the most widely spread. See more in http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/languages/.

## 2.1 Leaving the North: about the epistemic south

The south is not a geographically limited space, it is a constant epistemological construction affected by and affecting societies via histories, stories, and modes of being inside the development of globalization. Considering the importance of the European building of knowledge, thinking about the global south proposes a shift in the power of knowledge. It takes back the center of the narrative not only as an object for observation but also as an observer. In other words, the southern way of thinking is the construction of decolonial disobedience through the "identity in politics" (Mignolo 2008: 289).

Southern critics identify the discussion around Eurocentrism as the point of conversion. This construction has established European ways of thinking as the norm, while the rest of the world is relegated to a mere field for data collection. Spivak (2010) points out that even renowned thinkers of the Eurocentric tradition failed to critique the sovereign subject. The author mentions that, by associating labor, power, desire, ideology, and the relations that constitute exploitation and extraction as forms of production, thinkers such as Foucault, Althusser, Marx, Deleuze, and Guattari created an even larger gap between Europe and the "rest of the world," reinforcing the concepts of Otherness. Such gaps exclude non-Eurocentric views, which is a form of epistemic violence. Spivak (2010: 76) argues that this is not an attempt to describe "the way things really were" or to favor the imperialist narrative of history as the best version of history. Instead, it is an account of how one narrative or creation of reality was established as the normative one to the detriment of another.

To take the southern path, academically speaking, is, therefore, taking back control of the narratives that constitute the Other; Latin America, Asia, and Africa being centered as protagonists and not merely supporting players in the history of a Eurocentric world. At this point, I feel that is important to reinforce that it is not the aim of this investigation to attack Europe or the construction of knowledge existing in European countries. Agreeing with

Shohat and Stam (2014: 4), I understand eurocentrism as an "implicit positioning rather than a conscious political stance," considering that the countries in the north, including European ones, today are multicultural places where colonial and decolonial thinking exists in a variety of ways. Eurocentrism as a political stance is also found in southern countries – we may see that very clearly with the political neoliberal choices that happened in Brazil under Jair Bolsonaro's government, including the handover of the Amazon rainforest to foreign influence and the illegal exploitation of its natural resources (Abreu et al. 2019). Therefore, it is possible – and necessary – to deconstruct eurocentrism in the south as much as in the north.

With that understanding, in the present work, I'll be looking at Brazil but with the construction of a Latin identity in mind. As I argued earlier, Brazilian people are very rarely associated – as much as associate themselves – with the imaginaries surrounding Latinity. This, too, makes sense for the construction of the south, a territory that "consists of a neverending asymmetrical conflict. The geography of the South always fights against a 'geography of power'" (Resende 2020: 78). Inside the global south spectrum, Latin America is a site that seems to embody much of the historical events that shaped globalization, including European domination of indigenous bodies and the forced diaspora of African people. Such events shaped the numerous identity constructions happening around the region and, as Anibal Quijano (2000) unfolds, shapes Eurocentrism as the most well-accepted rationality constituting the modernity of the West; "the modes of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of coloniality" (533).

The construction of the south in Latin America is, therefore, shaped by the dualities of nationalism and surrender, patriotism and lack of self-esteem, the denial of a subaltern 'Afro-Latin-American' identity (Gonzalez 2020), and the pride of being part of a mixed population. These apparent contradictions are part of a national identity that also appears in my conversations with research participants and their experiences. Considering that the

construction of a feminine – and feminist – way of being cannot be detached from the social context in which they live, understanding such context gives sense to many of their choices regarding strategy or thinking. This context also shapes my perspective as a Brazilian researcher, hence, outlined in this dissertation.

The construction of Brazilian identity is shaped by pride and shame. In the words of Sandra Pesavento (2000: 12) "Nation-continent, the Brazilian identity would be defined by integrating the multiple, by the capacity, or not, to absorb the unrelated and apparently chaotic elements into a new totality of reference." Brazilian identity is disassociated from Latin America and seen as better than its neighbors, denying the contradictions born from colonial times and imperialistic influences.

This mentality is criticized by Lélia Gonzalez, who argues that Brazilians deny their Latin identity and erase the Indigenous heritage and Black diaspora. The *sindrome de viralata*, or mutt syndrome, for example, refers to Brazilians' feeling of inferiority compared to northern countries, which stems from a long history of colonization and imperialistic relations with the United States. The Brazilian nation denies what makes it different from Eurocentric ideas, including its historical miscegenation and rich multi-cultural history – something constructed through colonial violence, Brazilians see themselves as the Other.

To see themselves as the Other is a consequence of this historical setting that condemns the south as the Other of the occidental Eurocentric world. One factor that reinforces such 'Otherness' in Latin America from a colonial perspective is miscegenation, a consequence of the forced diaspora of Black peoples and the subjugation of indigenous folks. The white European countries built up ideas of race differences to justify the exploitation and genocide of non-white groups and the coloniality of power. Following Quijano's (2000) logic, the model of colonial power is based on two axes: first, the idea of racial supremacy and racial subjugation. The sociologist defends that the construction of 'race' itself is a tool for

oppression since the white race is dominant while 'others' (non-white) are supposedly justifiably dominated within the Eurocentric colonial view. The second axis is the control of labor, its resources, and its production. To establish globalization, the coloniality of power needs and uses exploitation of the workforce.

The coloniality of power, Quijano argues, influences social relations, and affects political affairs on a global and local scale. It has the power to affect the self-esteem of a whole nation and influence the daily life of the people. Therefore, the order of the occidental part of the world – through capitalism, neoliberalism, and coloniality of power – puts the United States and Europe in a privileged position, the 'first world,' more developed, more 'modern' (considering that modernity itself is a Eurocentric invention with *Estado-unidense* veins), while Africa and Latin America stand as the lower part, the 'third world,' underdeveloped, and primitive.

To counterpart this distorted image created by Eurocentric thinking, Brazil must adhere to an entirely different way of thinking: forging its own image. As Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) defends is necessary to embrace the "consciousness of the Borderlands," a "racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollination (...) a new *mestiza* consciousness, *una conciencia de mujer*" (76).

Differently from the false assimilation happening in Latin America and denounced by Gonzalez, Anzaldúa proposes to think truly from the borders – without ignoring the whiteness, the blackness, or the indigenous parts that mold the identity of Latin Americans.

<sup>62.</sup> In Portuguese, there is a difference between *Americano/Americana* (American) and *Estado-unidense*. American is any person born in the Americas (central, south, insular, or north). *Estado-unidense* is any person born in the United States. I defend using this term – at least in Portuguese – as resistance to our continuous condition of imperialistic victims. Latin-Americans are also Americans; the term was kidnapped by the U.S. constitution of power in the continent.

Such positioning can be tricky, so a solution is to act rather than stay stuck in discourses: "it is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions" (Anzaldúa 1987: 78). Thinking from the Borders or the margins requires taking a stance against the oppressor. To be in 'counterstance' means to go against the dominant culture that stereotypes and subjugates what is not considered the 'norm.' To stand on the margin, it is important to hold a critical and analytical posture, "with eyes of serpent and eagle" (ibid) or deny completely the Eurocentric dominant culture.

With this sort of positioning and accepting the idea of mestizaje, many female musicians in Latin America survive the industry and engage other women and nonbinaries with it. Even if they do not mention this positioning directly, the practice of the women and nonbinaries I interviewed for this research follows the movement of looking critically at the dominant culture, not intending to dismantle it but to improve and change it for the better.

One of the participants that brought the issues around *mestizaje*, Latinity discussion in an evident way was Debby Mota, a Black and Indigenous person that felt unwelcomed in the punk rock/riot grrrl scene of Belém, the city she was living. Mota talked with me about her experiences as a person of color and how she encountered a wall when she went to confront other white women in the scene about their racism and privileges. Besides, Mota is also a nonbinary individual, which brought even more discomfort in the punk scene of her home city.

Nonetheless, her experience made me think about this issue with Brazilian denial of its multi-racial origins through the hierarchization based on Eurocentric thought and how this also affects the existence of women and nonbinaries in the rock underground scene. For example, Maluria, a band formed by two Black women and one white focus their composition efforts into feminism activism and denouncing the racism ingrained in Brazil. For example, in the song *Júri Popular* (trans.: Popular Jury) (see appendix), they open with:

Vou te contar uma história De uma mulher que sempre batalhou E que sequer teve a chance de mostrar o seu valor Coisa de mulher vivida (original version in Portuguese)

I will tell you a story
Of a woman who always struggled
And never even had a chance to show her worth
This is the stuff of a woman who's lived (Maluria 2019a, author's translation)

Already in the beginning, it is possible to predict that this woman's story that is narrated does not end well. Although the band does not claim she had suffered a sexual aggression, the chorus makes it clear by the sort of judgment commonly seen in Brazil when a woman suffers from such violence:

Se tava de saia curta ou decote escrachado
(A culpa é sua, deu permissão)
Se tava meio aérea ou cheirando à cerveja
(Mulher não pode beber, não)
Se tá de batom vermelho e a make é pesada
(Coisa de puta, má intenção)
Ou se é mãe de dois filhos, não voltou pra casa
(Desnaturada, sem coração) (original version in Portuguese)

If she was wearing a short skirt or a low-cut neckline (It's your fault, you gave permission)
If she was a little high or smelled of beer (Women can't drink, no)
If she's wearing red lipstick and heavy make up (It's a whore thing, bad intention)
Or if she's a mother of two, didn't come home (Ungrateful, heartless) (Maluria 2019a, author's translation)

The fault, Maluria sings, always fall into the females who suffer aggression in the eyes of the popular jury – the informal jury, that judges by the constructed common sense the villainizes women and that does not hold men accountable for their faults.

The topic regarding racism appears in another composition, though. In 2019, Maluria released the song *Francamente* (trans.: Frankly) (see appendix) as a response to many events that were occurring in the period and that victimized Black people. One of the events also portrayed by the song was the assassination of council woman Marielle Franco in March 14,

2018.<sup>63</sup> The assassination shocked the nation and divided even more the country (Londoño 2019), with alt-right politicians downplaying the event and claiming it was being used by the left as a political platform – ignoring the tragedy and importance Marielle Franco had in the politics for the city of Rio de Janeiro.

As a Black feminist activist, Marielle Franco went against many conservatives' politicians and some dangerous representatives who control the poorer population in order to gain domain and control over parts of the city. Although there are no definitive conclusions to the reasons why the assassination occurred, one of the theories point out to the fact that Marielle Franco was a Black activist, working for Black and low-class people's rights in a city occupied by drug lords, militia, and organized crime (Cardoso 2023). From that perspective, the crime against Franco had a misogynistic and racist background to it, shaped by the racist construction in Brazil that is unique of the country's identity. Maluria sings:

Um emparelhamento no centro da cidade
Um crime sem desdobramento
Queremos a verdade
A negra da favela
Que deu a cara a tapa
Buscava defender seu povo
Queria liberdade
Mas não (não)
Não tem direito
Nem voz nem voto
Trarão respeito

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<sup>63.</sup> Marielle Franco was assassinated together with her driver, Anderson Gomes, when they were leaving an event she was attending in a collective in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The car they were driving were ambushed in the downtown, around 21:30. A total of thirteen gunshots were fired against the car, three hit the councilwoman and three the driver. They both died on site (Londoño 2019). After five years, the investigation did not get to a conclusion, but some arrests have been made on the responsible for the execution. We still need to know, however, the mastermind behind the crime and their actual motivation – which is more likely, political (Cardoso 2023).

A guerra é racial

E já passou da hora de tratar o povo igual (original version in Portuguese)

A car pull-up in the city center

An unfolding crime

We want the truth

The black woman from the favela

Who put herself to the front

She sought to defend her people

She wanted freedom

But no (no)

There's no rights (no)

Neither voice nor vote

Will bring respect

The war is racial

And it's past time to treat people as equals (Maluria 2019b, author's translation)

The band, then, is concluding that nothing matters anymore – to vote, to fight to have a voice – Black people are still dying in Brazil and struggling for the rights they are denied. This is also a direct response to the people softening the gravity and importance of this execution in specific by saying it was not racially motivated (many of the same people would spread fake news at the time connecting Marielle Franco with criminal groups and action, to taint the image of the politician). Maluria states that the "war is racial" and there is no more denial to that factor.

Softening the consequences of racism is also part of Brazil identity, especially in connection with white domination and as a tool to maintain the subjugation of non-white peoples – which engendered the current structural racism of the country. Lélia Gonzalez (2020) traces these differences in the so-called New World: the Americas. "Open racism" originated from the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, and Dutch contexts rests on explicit actions of racial segregation and follows politics that establish that:

black is a person with black ancestors ("black blood on the veins"). In line with this ideological occurrence, miscegenation is something unthinkable (although the rape and sexual exploitation of the black woman have always happened), to the extent that a white group intends to keep its "purity" and restate its "superiority". Consequently, the only solution accepted explicitly as the most coherent, is the segregation of non-white groups (130).

Gonzalez argues that this logic arises from the social context in which Aryan philosophy – of the eugenic 'pure' and white race – is born.

A different kind of racism emerged in the colonies under the Iberian, Italian, and French powers. These European regions had historical struggles and connections with non-white populations, especially the Islamic ones (e.g., the Moor influence mainly in Portugal, Spain, and France), and, therefore, a constant history of miscegenation resulting in another type of whiteness construction.<sup>64</sup> This historical confusion resulted in a type of racism that Lélia Gonzalez (2020) calls "racism by denial" or "disguised racism." It is a type of racism and – as a matter of fact – an understanding of the self that builds the falsehood of "theories of miscegenation, of assimilation, and 'racial democracy'" aiming to "hide behind excuses and a false conception of equality and parity" (130). Hence, people do not really identify as Black or Indigenous, and they claim racism is not a reality since they live together with Blacks and Indigenous. Even so, the nation ignores the fact that the non-white population has the worst numbers when it comes to employment and even life quality – they ignore how the structural racism that shapes Latin societies affects the lives of non-white people.

Adding to that, in general, Latin (white) people recognize their European traits but not their African or Native heritages. This lack of recognition hinders the connection Latin people

<sup>64.</sup> During my stay in Germany, I talked with many Spanish and Portuguese people that disclosed that German people do not understand them as white. The term 'Mediterranean' is widely used to describe people from south Europe, a demonstration of racial construction and the complexity of how white people perceive themselves even inside the continent that invented racism. This construction does not make sense in Latin American countries – the Mediterranean white is still white and has the same privileges as 'north-European' white. In other words, Brazilians do not separate their whites as they do with their non-white population.

might have with their lands, which compromises their sense of social justice, and their responsibility of belonging to a place, to recognize the failures and to find solutions for existing problems – even facilitating the impunity of crimes such as the one Marielle Franco suffered. As long as Latin people keep understanding their culture as something purely European, and not as *mestizaje* – to use the term coined by Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) – they will still be victims of modern imperialism. Quijano (2000) also adds to that thought by writing:

The Eurocentric perspective of knowledge operates as a mirror that distorts what it reflects, as we can see in the Latin American historical experience. That is to say, what we Latin Americans find in that mirror is not completely chimerical, since we possess so many and such important historically European traits in many material and intersubjective aspects. But at the same time, we are profoundly different. Consequently, when we look in our Eurocentric mirror, the image that we see is not just composite, but also necessarily partial and distorted. Here the tragedy is that we have all been led, knowingly or not, wanting it or not, to see and accept that image as our own and as belonging to us alone. In this way, we continue being what we are not. And as a result, we can never identify our true problems, much less resolve them, except in a partial and distorted way (556).

With that in mind, the context of this session is critical in understanding the type of resistance that the participants of this research – women of color working to create more egalitarian spaces in music – are propelling. This work is an urgent undertaking, particularly given the continuing role of racism and colonialism in Brazilian politics and society. The research participants' activism is also a reflection of the Latin American resistance that shapes their identities as Latin Women, even within the Brazilian context. From an optimistic viewpoint, I see their efforts in creating networks and safer spaces as a practical manifestation of the struggles of the global South. Latin Americans have had to learn to survive the colonial reality, and these efforts are a response to that struggle.

In the subsequent section, I will discuss how this Latin mentality also shapes the feminisms that emerge from Latin America, including those in Brazil.

## 2.2 Feminism and contradictions: A Brazilian experience

To better understand the context and background of the Brazilian participants I interviewed for this research, it is necessary to discuss a little of the history of feminism in Latin America and, consequently, Brazil. The logic behind the strategies employed by these women, such as the creation of networks and safer spaces, is shaped by a culture influenced by the historical practice of feminism in this geographical space.

Feminisms in Latin America have a long history of fighting for integration into society, and, since its beginning, Latin American feminisms tend to connect with struggles from a more practical standpoint than an academic one. Authors such as Lélia Gonzalez (2020), Ilse Scherer-Warren (2008), Guacira Lopes Louro (2008), Ochy Curiel (2007), and Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso (2020) demonstrate that Latin American women have been taking stances as activists since, at least, the 19th century. They acted as politicians, writers, artists, and teachers, among other relevant social activities. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe an increase in the feminists' activism (and activities) coming from Latin America and gaining space inside the international media and public. Some examples are the Chilean movement #NiUnaAMenos (Not One Less), the Brazilian #EleNão (Not Him), and, more

<sup>65.</sup> As seen in the article by Diana Jaramillo (2021), feminists from South America and Central America were the first to create actions against gender violence on a more global scale. In the 1980s, feminists from Mexico, Colombia, and the Dominic Republic, together with other Latinxs, organized a series of meetings that culminated in the creation of the *Encuentros Feministas de América Latina y el Caribe* (trans.: Feminist Meetings of Latin America and the Caribbean), Eflac. The Eflac is the first extensive translocal feminist encounter for discussions about actions against female violence. Through this enterprise, the 25 of November was chosen as the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

recently, the fight for women's bodies liberation and abortion rights *La Onda Verde* (The Green Wave) that began in Argentina, but quickly had repercussions in other countries.

The Latin American feminist movements have their own characteristics and are deeply connected with the political context of anti-imperialism and postcolonial fights. They are branded by social movements shaped in the region, such as the Mexican and Cuban Revolution, the Liberation Theology, the struggles against dictatorships and the US influence over national politics, populism, socialism, and the fights for educational autonomy and against the military state (Gargallo 2007). As pointed out by Marlise Matos (2010):

Latin American feminisms have their own historical vicissitude and idiosyncrasies and were (or are) not used or recruited (not entirely) by neo-liberal strategies because, as it is well known, the strength of the global South emerged precisely from its negation of, reaction to, and opposition to the advances of neo-liberalism (74).

My purpose is to ponder if the feminisms of Latin America are indeed detached from the maneuvers of neoliberalism. Undoubtedly, we may find inside Latin America the struggles against neoliberal impositions – which form a system that, among other things, delimits the spaces that women can, or should, occupy. Neoliberalism, together with the patriarchal social order, builds up a harmful environment for women since, in such a system, they are submitted to the domestic sphere and work through underpayment and lack of opportunities – which maintain the gender gap in the work market. In the case of nonbinary people, the issue falls into the place – or rather, the border, – their bodies occupy (neither male, nor female). In this context, the path women and nonbinaries choose to trace, and the spaces they manage to achieve are limited by gender and race, only reinforcing the neoliberal construction of inequities. As Zanellato (2021) discusses, such issues are also reproduced in the Latin American music industry.

An example of these disparities can be found in Lélia Gonzalez's writing much earlier, in the 1980s. The philosopher points out how Black women tend to carry out the most

undervalued work in Brazil as domestic workers, which is still a reality today in the 2020s. The fact that most domestic workers in Brazil are Black women<sup>66</sup> reinforces inequities and the imposed lower status of these women in society because of the historical undervaluing of domestic work pass-through. In addition, it was partially because of the consolidation of domestic work as a paid function that white middle-class women could start constructing their careers outside their homes, assuming positions as professionals, and competing directly with men.

As a result of such oppressive dynamics, the position of Black women in other fields – such as the creative market, including music and the arts – is even more difficult than the position of white women. Not surprisingly, women of color are less represented and struggle even more to gain recognition.

Either way, the Latin American feminist potential, together with anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and intersectional standpoints, as Lugones (2008) argues<sup>67</sup>, comes from the margins. Authors Alvarez et al. (2003), Francesca Gargallo (2007), María Lugones (2008), and Julieta Paredes Carvajal (2020) insist that the feminist activism emerging from Latin countries, having as protagonists Indigenous, Black, and poor women are fundamental for the

66. According to the survey conducted by the Institute of Applied Economy Research, a Brazilian governmental research organization, and released in 2019, 6 million people work as domestic workers in Brazil. Of this number, 63% are Black women – they also tend to be less well-payed for the work they execute (Pinheiro et al. 2019).

<sup>67.</sup> The author writes: "Investigo la intersección de raza, clase, género y sexualidad para entender la preocupante indiferencia que los hombres muestran hacia las violencias que sistemáticamente se infringen sobre las mujeres de color" (Lugones 2008: 75). Transl.: "I investigate the intersection of race, class, gender, and sexuality to understand the worrisome indifference that men show towards the acts of violence that are systematically infringed upon women of color."

feminist upsurge in the global south (even if these women do not define themselves as feminists).

Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1988) denounces the north-centered (white) feminist scholarship and their 'coalitions' with the colonial agenda, including the repetition of hierarchization that subjugates the Other when this Other comes from the margins. Mohanty defends women from the – paraphrasing the author – global south should defend their feminist scholarships with a detachment of feminism from imperialist values, focusing on the dehegemonization of struggles and life experiences. She proposes reinforcements to feminist policies through the union of theory and practice. While anti-systemic and antifundamentalist organizations pursue the modification of everyday life and its micro-politics, academic feminism stands for constructing feminist critiques capable of offering centrality to various struggles.

Marlise Matos (2010) discusses what she calls the fourth feminist wave in Latin America, listing some characteristics she observed emerging from this contemporary activism: the institutionalization of feminist and gender agenda, the politicization of everyday life, and the globalization process, including a larger south-south interaction between feminists. According to the author, this updating of the activism emerging from Latin America was responsible for putting Latin feminism on the 'global map' in terms of being a space with its own emergence of feminist theories. I add to that the importance of digital activism to these dynamics and the popularization of Latin feminism.

This is the case for the Latin-based movements (#NiUnaaMenos, #EleNão, and La Onda Verde) and the networks with which this current investigation worries. Following this, it is possible to integrate Brazil into a Latin logic of fights and struggles, especially with the increased digital activism. However, as I mentioned before, Brazil has its own characteristics and noticeable differences in politics of identity and human rights activism.

One of these differences is the constitution of feminist movements into waves, as it is done by Matos and many other feminist scholarships. Understanding the history and political unfolds that shape gender equality struggles in Latin America, I tend to agree with the criticisms being made contemporarily: the metaphor of waves is not enough to explain such a complex social collective movement that had phases imbricated with divergent people thinking from different standpoints (Ahmad 2014). The concept of feminist waves come from a northern perspective and was widely exclusionary for women of color on the 'margins' of the fight (Munro 2013). Understanding that Latin American feminism is not mainstream white feminism (despite the active participation of white feminists, which does bring discussions and conflicts to the activism), I don't think a concept so generally makes much sense for the present analysis.

Agreeing with Mohanty (2008), it is not my aim here to minimize the importance of feminist scholarships from the 'first-world' – to use the chosen term by the author. However, it is of utmost importance to "examine the *political* implications of our *analytic* strategies and principles" (64) regarding the power imbalance in south feminisms.

The metaphor of the waves is constructed following the U.S. women's historical context. The definition of the time that circumscribes female suffrage, women's placement in the work market, intersectionality, the politics of the bodies, and feminist popularization is defined by the neoliberal and legal context that tangents and marks North American feminism (Laughlin et al. 2010).

The Latin American feminist movement has its own role and history, and – although there is an undeniable global factor involved in the inspiration of the activism – in a practical sense, the types of politics happening in Latin America call for a different feminist development. This is not to disregard the waves completely, but since the logic is too much segregated into time-frame and visibility of certain groups, this model seems to lose validity

when crossing the borders from north to south.<sup>68</sup> In other words: "The waves metaphor, like the earlier concept of separate spheres, has become a crutch that obscures as much as it organizes the past into a neat package" (Laughlin et al. 2010: 81).

Instead of only being a form of categorization upon which the history of feminism is constructed, the wave metaphor creates a hierarchy of existing feminisms that is exclusionary to the non-white, south, non-scholar activists. Since Brazil, as part of Latin America, is marked by multiculturalism, a notion reinforced by Anzaldúa (1987), attaining the vision of *la mestiza* goes against the structured and segregated waves. The metaphor erases entire populations, such as the working-class women of Brazil, defining what can be and what cannot be considered by feminism in scholarly terms.

68. Even in the north, the concept of feminist waves has been gaining more space for critique, as we can read in the article *Feminism Beyond the Waves*, written by the educator Aalya Ahmad (2015: online). She questions: "The idea that there have been at least three waves of feminism in the Global North has been highly influential, but can we still speak of waves of feminism now? What does it mean to think of ourselves as feminists in waves? Whom does that leave out?" She then brings the experience of five activists that understand the waves on the North as something outdated considering its exclusionary timeline – including indigenous fights, as pointed out by indigenous feminist activist Leanne Simpson. Simpson describes the feminist waves as a construction based on the colonial process of white erasure of indigenous bodies in Canada. "Rather than connecting her work to waves of feminism, Simpson links it to '400 years of Indigenous resistance to colonialism ... taking on issues of dispossession and displacement, erasure, capitalism, and gender violence. I am always connected [to] and building upon the work of my Ancestors and those that have gone before – revolutionary thinkers like Lee Maracle and Ellen Gabriel, but also youth who are doing really radical work on the ground."

The type of popular feminism<sup>69</sup> building up in Brazil does not abide by the time frame with a beginning, middle, and end, an idea reinforced by the timely characteristic of the waves. It is a type of feminism brought up and invented by Black and Indigenous women, even if they do not see themselves as feminists, because the fight against the patriarchy and colonization was their only means of survival (we see that in the works of authors and activists such as Alice Pataxó, Graça Graúna, Laudelina de Campos Melo, Nísia Floresta, among others).

To understand the feminism present in the discourses and actions of Julie Sousa, Gê Vasconcelos, Letícia Lopes, Cynthia Tsai, Debby Mota, Elisa de Sena, Flavia Biggs, the members of the band Maluria, and the collective Bruxaria, I had to move away from academic theory, the waves model, and hegemonic thinking. Instead, I delved into the history of Brazilian feminism and its multicultural qualities, examining the struggles, self-concepts, contradictions, and social context that shape our culture and way of thinking as Brazilian women. As part of this analysis, I also had to reflect on the factors that have made me the feminist I am today.

Ilse Scherer-Warren (2008) points out that Brazil has a fundamental political characteristic that affects emancipatory revolutions: the presence of an oligarchical and authoritarian state that thrives with an excluding social system based on social and economic inequality and discrimination of class and race. Hence,

9. The popular feminism I am

<sup>69.</sup> The popular feminism I am talking about here is feminism outside academia. Following the stances taken by the participants of this research, I will focus my efforts on explaining the activism happening outside scholarly spaces. Brazil and Latin America have important academic rooms for feminist conventions that also play important roles in the fight for Women; however, none of the participants fit into that space. Their feminism is more easily understood through the popular lenses that shape Brazilian feminism, the feminism from everyday life.

the main popular mobilizations in the colonial period, rather than being declared antisystemic, were of rejection, denial, and distancing of the excluding systems (such as messianic movements, separatist movements, the formation of Quilombos, and indigenous resistance), or still, in the same separatist logic, we can recall the anarchosystemic anarcho-syndicalism, which prevailed in the first Brazilian republic (505).

Such characteristics were also passed on to the feminist movement developing in the Brazilian territory. In the twentieth century, Brazil's history brought two authoritarian governments that persecuted social and political movements against the system, including the feminist one – the Vargas era (from 1930 until 1945) and the military dictatorship (from 1964 until 1985) – which resulted in what Michele Perrot denounced in the 1970s as the silencing of women. According to her, this silence begins with the representations and oppressions of the bodies, what women can expose, and which rights they hold of their own physical desires. Then, gradually, it becomes political silence.

Brazilian historian Glaucia Fraccaro (2018) mentions that part of this silencing of the feminist movement in Brazil comes from the difficulty women faced inside institutional spaces, including academia. This means that working-class women continued fighting for their rights as the female part of the proletariat. And thus, I return to the argument of the different notions of temporality emerging in Brazilian feminism. The first wave was considered the time to struggle to favor suffrage, following the United States and European feminist traditions. In Brazil, feminists did fight for the political rights of women during the same period with the creation of institutionalized and political groups, like the *Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino* (transl.: Brazilian Federation for the Feminine Progress) created by Bertha Lutz after her study period at England and her contact with French and English feminists (Fraccaro 2018).

These associations were heavily persecuted by Getúlio Vargas' government and put a target on the back of every woman declaring herself as a feminist at that time. However, the

creation of these groups was the consolidation of the feminist insurgence that was also happening on the factory grounds, inside other organizational political groups such as the Communist party, and even in the rural areas.<sup>70</sup> That is why, agreeing with Fraccaro (2018),

It is impossible to state categorically that the numerical absence of women in institutions resulted in total gender indifference in collective and political bargaining or kept the social and economic order intact. The strikes of the 1930s, the actions of the Communist Party, and the international feminist networks (...) announced that feminism was a political field in dispute from its earliest moments (10-11).

Black women in Brazil, for instance, always had to fight for their space in the work market and their rights as women and mothers, even if they often faced exclusion in the more institutionalized feminist organizations, as Lélia Gonzalez reported in many periodical articles, opinion pieces, and academic papers she wrote throughout her career. Confirming this exclusion of women of color from feminist institutions, the historian Miridan Knox Falei

<sup>70.</sup> A personal note on this matter: my mother's family has a long tradition in the Communist Party of Brazil. My great-grandfather, a leader of the Tramcar Drivers Union of Sao Goncalo in Rio de Janeiro, was a well-known communist and one of the founders of the Party. My great-grandmother, Anna Ignacia Gomes was not a fan of the Communist party but attended almost all the meetings and had a voice inside the political group. She was a seamstress and offered free classes for impoverished women – often Black – to gain financial independence, as she would always defend. I grew up listening to these stories and wondering how many other women shared the same experience as Anna Ignacia – how many of them fought, with their tools, for women's emancipation but never labeled themselves as proper feminists because they were away from the academicism and classism prevailing in the self-declared feminist institutions of the time. My mother's family was not a rich one, but my great-grandfather always supported my great-grandmother, that had to leave her parent's house because she wanted to become a teacher and not a housewife. They made ends meet with his salary as a tram driver and hers as a teacher. Still, they believed they could change the world; him by class and proletarian revolution, her by female's economic emancipation and education.

(2004) brings the perspective of the women from the Northeast region of Brazil – where the first city (Salvador) and state (Pernambuco) of the country are located – and their differences on class, social status, and race:

After all, only 25% of the entire population of Piauí<sup>71</sup>, according to the 1826 Census, was white, close to 50% was brown, and the rest was black. And the grandmothers, worried about the whitening of the family – a sign of social distinction –, would ask their granddaughters when they knew of a steady flirtation, *my daughter*; *is he white?* The first condition of importance in that highly miscegenated society (203).

I have already discussed the race issues around the process of the construction of Brazilian society in the previous topic. It is crucial to make evident once again how the miscegenation in Brazil was used as a tool for whitening the country's population, erasing Black and Indigenous cultures altogether, and much of this thinking took root, influencing many social movements. This process also affected feminist activism in the country. The hegemonic, academic, and middle-class feminism, for many years, ignored the demands of women from the margins of society because of the historical structural erasure of non-white culture and people. Until today, this problem is not entirely resolved, with Black and Indigenous women fighting their way inside political and social spheres so they can share their struggles and think of solutions to gender violence and their participation in Brazilian society (Dutra and Mayorga 2019).

Thus, whiteness in Brazil is still a sore and complex topic even in the feminist movements. From a Eurocentric perspective, whiteness is an identity construction based on the subjugation of other non-white people (Shohat and Stam 2014). From the white perspective, its culture, knowledge, experiences, and ways of being are superior and,

<sup>71.</sup> A state from Brazil in the Northeast region. Created as a province in 1718 and became one of the first federative states of Brazil in 1889.

therefore, unquestionable. Racism is, therefore, a characteristic of whiteness-feeling of superiority.

Racist feminists tend to adhere to this sort of logic, even if their discourses are based on notions of equality and even if they convince themselves they are not using the same oppressive tools of the patriarchy or do not own privileges. The response for non-white women in Brazil that deal with racist feminists is, undoubtedly, anger – far from the stereotypical angry Black woman, but very close to what Audre Lorde (2007) defines as anger: a response to racism.

My response to racism is anger. I have lived with that anger, ignoring it, feeding upon it, learning to use it before it laid my visions to waste, for most of my life (...) My fear of anger taught me nothing. Your fear of that anger will teach you nothing, also. Women responding to racism means women responding to anger; the anger of exclusion, of unquestioned privilege, of racial distorts, of silence, ill-use, stereotyping, defensiveness, misnaming, betrayal, and co-optation (ebook position 1929).

Such anger is apparent in Debby Mota's words when they speak about the unfair treatment they received in the punk rock scene of their city because of her race and sexuality. It is also felt in the music made by Maluria, an anger that appears in both lyrics and in the melody they produce. Such anger is fired up by the feeling of misunderstanding and inequality, as well as the lack of space for women of color in feminism.

The works of Dutra and Mayorga (2019), Djamila Ribeiro (2019), and Fernanda Carrera (2020), together with the experiences of non-white women participants in this research show that the intersection feminist<sup>72</sup> debate in Brazil still needs development. And

<sup>72.</sup> Intersectionality, on those terms, is identified by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) as the different types of oppression imposed on people from the margins of society based on race, class, gender, and sexuality. As explained by Patricia Hill Collins (2000), the intersection of oppressions can be a way of controlling Black women, but when these women discover their agencies in-between intersections, they overcome their position as victims and can fight to gain power.

this does not mean only that women and nonbinaries of color must strive to gain power in a white society: white feminists also need to do their bidding, recognizing their privileges and using them to assist feminists of color to gain more rights, justice, and equality. In the words of Ribeiro, as she discusses Audre Lorde:

Not accepting that we start from different places since we experience gender in a different way, builds up a legitimization of an excluding discourse because it does not enable other ways of womanhood in the world. (...) The circumstance of not establishing these places and keep ignoring that there are different starting points among women makes these white women carry on with their disregard in questioning themselves and, consequently, continue reproducing oppressions against black women (...) (ebook position 421).

As I am presenting further on, this questioning of oneself and the recognition of white privilege is somewhat of a sore subject in the rock music scene in Brazil, even for female feminists. The (intersectional) feminist debate has yet to reach a large part of Brazilian society, especially women of color. This debate is happening largely inside academia but faces the difficulty of leaving its walls and reaching the women who most need it.

To illustrate this: the fights for women's rights inside the indigenous community is recent, beginning with two organizations in the 1980s: *Associação das mulheres indígenas do Alto Rio Negro* (transl.: Indigenous women from Alto do Rio Negro Association, Amarn) and the *Associação de mulheres indígenas do Distrito de Taracuá, Rio Uapés e Tiguié* (transl.: Indigenous women from Taracuá district, Uapés River and Tiguié Association, Amitrut). The political and feminine fight for gender equality inside indigenous communities only gained more strength in the following years.

Dutra and Mayorga (2019) make it clear that for indigenous women of Brazil to trace a parallel between intersectional feminism and the indigenous fight is not so easy. Indigenous women prioritize the fight for their land; they see themselves first as a people and then as separate individuals. In this dynamic, they prioritize the fight for a place to be where their voice is heard, where the indigenous population can access education, a sound health system,

and security for its people. Suffice it to say that this fight is still very necessary since the indigenous population continues to lose territory in a country that elected a government that gave growth space for illegal mining<sup>73</sup> and weakens the preservation of key territories, such as the Amazonian Forest.

Consequently, the access of indigenous women to their women's rights, such as in the case of the Maria da Penha Law, is hindered by the lack of information regarding personal protection. To offer some context, the Maria da Penha Law, aims to curb the violence against women in a domestic and familiar context. Through mechanisms, from the right to access information regarding domestic violence to the perpetrator's punishment, Maria da Penha Law's goal is to end physical and psychological violence against women inside the domestic context.

The law, however, is not equally applied to the feminine population in Brazil.

According to a study conducted by Said and Kagan (2018), indigenous women find various difficulties in denouncing their partner in a domestic violence situation. One of the most crucial difficulties is the presence of the state in the lives of these women. Indigenous people suffer at the hands of governments that jeopardize their existence through ineffective land demarcation, which becomes a liability to these women's lives, their children, and their relatives. The constant fight for territory and the right to live and maintain indigenous

<sup>73.</sup> In an article titled *Illegal mining footprint swells nearly 500% inside Brazil Indigenous territories*, the journalist Lais Mondelli (2022) writes: "Illegal miners expanded their footprint in Indigenous territories in Brazil by nearly 500% between 2010 and 2020, according to a recent report from the research collective MapBiomas. It also shows that illegal miners boosted their presence in conservation units by 301% during the same period." The precarity in the fight against these illegal schemes and the lack of security for the people defending indigenous territory is giving more power to criminal exploitation of the land while promoting the genocide of indigenous people.

traditions in face of a country with structural racism and a racist state undermines these women's struggles that, when they do look for help despite the fear and the lack of trust in authorities, usually do not receive aid among the institutions that are supposed to help them.

All of this gives context to the effort made by the women and nonbinary participants in this research. The creation of networks, the look, and the creation of safer spaces are attempts of feminist intersectional actions to include more diverse people in the music industry. The different oppressions are being fought constantly: when projects like *Bruxaria* worry with ecology, free entrance, space for kids, the inclusion of diverse bands from small cities, and *Hi-Hat* going to the periphery of the cities and offering free drumming workshops for girls and women; when spaces like Motim create a safer space for females and LGBTQI+ people to play and enjoy a gig; when online projects like *Negras no Underground* create catalogs to showcase the work of Black, Indigenous, and Queer women, bands from the margins. All the mentors of these actions have intersection feminism on their minds. These are topics that will be discussed further on.

## 2.3 "Your vibe attracts your tribe" 74: Female musicians from Brazil

As I suggested in the introduction of this dissertation, my involvement with the field of research occurred in a somewhat fluid way. As I knew some of the interlocutors from previous years of working as a journalist, some conversations started informally, without a fixed methodology, before the official beginning of the project. From the conversations I had with some friends and close colleagues, people I knew from the independent rock scene I grew used to (mainly in Rio de Janeiro), and even with some people who ended up as interlocutors on the present investigation, I was able to fix questions that would follow me

<sup>74.</sup> Sentence by Gê Vasconcelos in an online interview with the author on November 9, 2021.

throughout the research process and helped me develop a methodology that would fit the scientific exploration I started to do in 2018.

My interdisciplinarity use of various methodological approaches to the field is something familiar in cultural studies when associated with the studies of popular music. Mary Celeste Kearney (2017), for instance, demonstrates that the field of popular music studies and – within it – the scholarships focusing on rock culture needs to adhere to the dynamic processes that shape the area. It somewhat diverges from the more classical studies in musicology, since the researcher on popular music will not focus only on the composition and the sound, but everything that comes with it: performance, social and cultural context, personal experiences, and diverse meanings tied to a musical experience.

Kearney points out how, methodologically speaking, it is impossible to understand popular music from a single perspective. That is the reason why popular music scholarship establishes a more interdisciplinary and dynamic observation of the field. "Studies of popular music by scholars in the disciplines of literature, theatre, media, and sociology have contributed significantly to this field's development. However, a one-dimensional approach limits our understanding of the rich complexity of popular music" (6). Such a perspective works well with the interdisciplinary field of Global Studies that presupposes a miscellany of methods applied to various phenomena.

Vis-à-vis this context, the present dissertation follows the multi-sited ethnographic approach to the complex cultural field in which I inserted myself: a methodology which, according to George Marcus (1995: 96), uses its "strategy or design of research that acknowledges macrotheoretical concepts and narratives of the world system but does not rely on them for the contextual architecture framing a set of subjects." A multi-sited approach to the field of music, looking into the networks created by women and nonbinaries within industry and scene, is to put on the limelight the work they do by prioritizing the "questions"

of resistance" in face of "the shape of systemic processes themselves and complicities with these processes among variously positioned subjects" (101).

Although my goal here is not to deny the systemic structure around networks, music industry, and music cultures, the multi-sited ethnography approach allowed me to look into the fieldwork with the necessary freedom interdisciplinarity is possible to give. Hence, even to call this work as an ethnographic study falls into a categorization in which I do not wish to attain due to the stiff and structured tradition on ethnography brings in its connection with the anthropology field (Ingold 2014). Thus, following the "chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations" (Marcus 1995: 105) in my fieldwork, I constructed a multi-sited approach to understand how the dynamics of the women and nonbinaries in Brazil occur. I also felt, from this, the necessity of speaking with people from other contexts, respecting the fact that multi-sited research also looks into global forces that influenced even the smaller activities observed in the smaller of fields. The participation of Mirca Lotz form Germany, that will be explained later, fell into this necessity, and aided with the understanding of the Brazilian processes analyzed.

Hence, the multi-sited approach also foresees the uses of multiple methodologies as well as the larger approach to the field with the interviews of people from different contexts and the participation in different events. As I am presenting further, I interviewed a total of 13 women and 1 nonbinary person but not every interview appears in the final material. And, together with the responses generated by the survey I am presenting in the sequence, the number of contributors to this research gets to almost 100. Even if not, everyone had a space in this final version of the dissertation, they were important in the phase of "following the people" (Marcus 1995), guiding me in the construction of the theoretical debate that contextualizes this investigation, and in the shaping via illustration and exemplification of the unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy, safer spaces, and support networks.

Multi-sited approach does not let me forget these people as contributors even if they do not appear in the final, 'clean,' data.

The first method applied to this research is a qualitative methodology inspired by digital ethnography, as mentioned by Fragoso, Recuero, and Amaral (2011), based mainly on interviews with music professionals. Following these interviews and my own interest, I surveyed initiatives that aimed to give visibility and stimulate the work and representation of female professionals in the music market.

I made the first assessment between September 2019 and March 2020. In this first listing, 40 projects were included in the mapping. It was from this process that I noticed a relative rise of actions coming from countries of the global south, with the characteristic of being inserted in the independent music market and underground cultural scenes. They are usually led by people that do not earn money for their work and are helped by volunteers. In some cases, the projects for women and LGBTQI+ in music in the south do gain some aid from the government or private initiatives, majorly receiving the sponsorship in the form of material (e.g., *Hi Hat Girls* drums workshop receives drumsticks and practice pads from sponsors and the Suburbia Festival received a loan on microphones and some instruments from sponsors) rather than in cash.

In a second period, from July to October 2022, I returned to this assessment. Many events occurred during the doctorate period after the initial plan was developed. The COVID-19 pandemic affected many of these projects; some ceased to exist, stopped their activities, or changed their structure altogether. In Brazil, there was an increase in projects aiming to advertise female artists of feminist/feminine bands and music groups (using a 'wiki' operation), predominantly on Instagram. Such an increase illuminates the way people from the south may appropriate social network platforms. Staying at home for a more extended period without having to spend hours in traffic to get to the place of work or not working

altogether – such is the case of music professionals that saw their productivity time reduced considerably – made possible individual insurgences and personal projects hosted by social media platforms. On this second assessment, the number of projected listed is 56 (see appendix), and roughly 33.9% of those use Instagram as their main communication channel.

Another point is the number of projects in Brazil. Of the total 56, 44.6% are based in Brazil, and while this might be a result of my own way of researching projects, and the hints I received from the research participants that pointed me towards some of those, it also shows that there has been an increase in the fight for a space for women in music in Brazilian territory. As I already demonstrated in the first chapter of this work, the appearance of women in the Brazilian music industry happened later than in other countries. Their recognition was not easy; many were not even credited with their music performances or productions (Cardoso Filho 2007). Such historical constructions leave deep marks that are difficult to erase even with time. Thus, the increase of people interested in changing the scenario for women and nonbinary workers in the music industry is a long-coming advance.

On another note, it is also good that some of these 56 projects have the direct participation of men in their organization or development (i.e., böse und gemein, Coletivo Lança, Efusiva Records, Girls on Drums Festival, Chaos Rising, Hit Like a Girl, Motim, ASA). This demonstrates an increase in men's interest in the industry to aid in the struggle for change. Jonathan Crowe (2013), when discussing the role of men inside feminist movements, points out that it is not easy for them to assert a stance since first, men are not women, and second men can represent a risk for the centrality in women's activist role. The author explains that cisgender males are not as affected by patriarchy as women are, therefore, they do not understand the entire issues women face in the patriarchal society. Consequently, men can (un)knowingly can risk taking away more of the space women conquered in activism by putting forward demands that are much more aligned with men's universe.

Patriarchal impositions can – and do – affect men's experience in society, their limits to self-knowledge and wellbeing, their relations with women, other men, and children, and even on a non-social scale if we think about the entanglement of feminism and nature. As Crowe asserts, feminism can be an asset to men's improvement, but

Men who adopt feminist aims and objectives chiefly for their own benefit can only ever be peripherally engaged in the feminist project. The point of feminism is to promote the well-being of women. This entails overcoming the traditional practice of constructing women as a means to the fulfillment of male desires (3).

What I gathered from the projects presented in this final list – their structures, the centrality they give to the work women do instead of their bodies, and physical characteristics – is that it is possible to assume that in all of them the end goal is to give more incentive, space, and visibility to women. It helps that project such as *böse und gemein*, *Coletivo Lança*, *Efusiva Records*, and *Motim* are also inspired by LGBTQI+ principles, thinking that constructing safer spaces (named by Hill and Megson 2020a) for gender minorities is the best defense for democracy and the best approach to an egalitarian society. I will further analyze the mapped projects in the next chapter discussing the construction of safer spaces and unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy – a concept I am defending in this dissertation.

Before introducing the participants of this research – the people that collaborated with me not only with interviews but also by pointing to projects and mentioning my research to other possible collaborators, generally making possible the shape of the structure I have right now – I am going to discuss a fundamental step that I took to increase my perception of gender and music industry in Brazil: the application of an online survey with female instrumentalists.

## 2.3.1 The survey: understanding the music industry via female musicians' lenses

In 2020, with the COVID-19 pandemic development, music venues, workshops, festivals, and gigs were shut down. I saw a limitation in the possibility of keeping up the work in the offline research field, and I only had contact with the research collaborators via online interaction. To continue and try to amplify the field research, I created a structured questionnaire aimed at instrumentalists (transgender, cisgender, and nonbinary feminine people) in the music industry (see in the appendix). My goal was to grasp a more general idea of these professionals' experiences and how the pandemic – and the government response (or lack thereof) to it – affected their professional lives. The survey was hosted on Google Forms with 24 questions, mixing multiple-choice and long answers. It was publicized from May 22 to June 10, 2020, in Facebook groups – i.e., groups that associated music and women and feminist groups and that had a high activity at the time, Hi Hat Girls workshop, Women in Music, Mulheres do Áudio Brasil (trans.: Women in Audio Brasil), Mulheres Unidas Contra Bolsonaro (trans.: Women United Against Bolsonaro). I also counted with the aid of collaborators – namely Julie Sousa, Gê Vasconcelos, and Letícia Lopes – who volunteered to share the survey with their networks. From this methodological starting point, I intend to discuss the experience of female drummers in this dissertation – although the respondents were instrumentalists in a more general spectrum.

The questionnaire application was necessary mainly to collect more general research data. At the time, most of the 48 respondents were in the 20 to 30 age group (52.0%), followed by women 31 to 40 years old (27.0%), and 19.0% were in the age group of 41 to 78 years old. Only 2% of the respondents were in the under-20 age group. Most respondents were self-declared as white (58.3%) and brown (35.4%). Only 4.2% declared themselves yellow and 2.1% as Black. This can be a demonstration of the still low presence of non-white

women in the music industry, but it can also be a consequence of a limitation of my research or even of my condition as a white woman.

Most respondents, 95.8%, consider themselves cisgender women, while 4.2% consider themselves nonbinary, and none of the respondents defined themselves as a transgender woman – hence the focus of this research in women and nonbinary people. Again, this result may indicate the music industry as a space where factors such as gender identity define exclusion and accessibility. Although that would need a deeper analysis to state as a fact, this can mean that non-cisgender women face much more obstacles to access the industry as instrumentalists. But one must also consider that there are numerically fewer transgender women than cisgender women.

On the other hand, the expression of sexuality was shown to be much more diverse. The number of heterosexual and bisexual respondents was very close – 39.6% and 37.5% respectively. In addition, 18.7% declared themselves homosexual, and 4.2% were pansexual.

Regarding education, 56.3% have attended or are attending higher education, showing that schooling is vital for these women. Among them, 12.5% have some specialization and 12.4% have a master's or doctorate. Only 18.8% have a high school diploma, indicating that music professionals tend to achieve the completion of formal education.

Music genres are also a topic relevant for professionalization. While many women like and consume rock music, only 28.6% work with this genre. The low quantity of women working with the genre they like becomes more evident when we compare the numbers of rock with MPB<sup>75</sup>, for example. Of the women who declared they like Brazilian Popular Music, about 68.3% also work with it.

<sup>75.</sup> *Música Popular Brasileira*, or Brazilian Popular Music, is an umbrella genre created in the 1960s in Rio de Janeiro with deep roots in the bossa nova movement. Today, it is used to define romantic music genres such as bossa nova, samba, choro, and, later, Brazilian rock (or Brock, see Ulhôa 2003).

I also wanted to see the number of women that play each instrument. It is worth remembering that both the musical genre category and the instrument category allowed more than one answer by the participants. Thus, the six instruments most used professionally by them are acoustic guitar (37.5%), percussion (25%), piano (16.6%), drums (14.5%), electric guitar (12.5%), and electric keyboard or synthesizer (10.4%).

Most of the respondents do not have music as their primary source of livelihood. Although the numbers are very close, 52.1% say they do not have music as their main livelihood against 47.9%. This difference may have numerous possible causes, which would require further understanding.

In line with what was discussed in the first chapter, it is unsurprising that a good part of the respondents also acts as instruments or singing teachers, accounting for 21 out of 48 answers. According to Bellard Freire and Portella (2013), the recognition of women players in the nineteenth century was meager; they only received recognition as music, language, and culture tutors. After all, while being a tutor was seen with respect, being an instrumentalist and playing in public spaces, such as in theaters or operas, was understood as a form of amorality for women. The other three professions most popular to the respondents are: singer (17 out of 48 responses), also reinforcing the perception that it is easier to find female singers than women in other functions such as composers, music, or audiovisual producer (12 out of 48 responses), and event organizer (11 out of 48 responses).

The second and third sections of the form had open questions, with the need for longer answers. From those, I could draw categories that account for various aspects of their narratives of the questions asked. I start with the following question: "The covid-19 pandemic

<sup>76.</sup> I differentiate here piano from the electric keyboard because these two instruments present different roles in the music industry. Not always a pianist will play the keyboards in a professional setting and not every keyboard player does play piano professionally.

and social isolation have probably affected your performance as a musician. How are you coping professionally with this situation?" There is, in this topic, the emergence of two major categories from the responses, which illustrate how the pandemic has affected these women. The first is related to personal-professional improvement measures, in which the respondents report that they took time to study or specialize, seek new partnerships for projects, publicize their work on social network platforms, and perform other types of activities linked to making music. This category had a total of 26 mentions.

The second category is directly linked to the financial situation, which includes the beginning of activities such as remunerated live-stream<sup>77</sup> gigs; the change of professional area because of the impossibility of continuing to survive solely on music; the offering of classes, whether in on- or off-line spaces; and the application – but not necessarily the gain – for public sponsorship, including the emergency aid offered by the federal government in 2020.<sup>78</sup> This second category had a total of 25 mentions.

<sup>77.</sup> Live streams are forms of live video sharing from online platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Twitch, Vimeo, among others. Before the pandemic, some artists already performed via 'lives' in specific moments of their careers: for the dissemination of new material and even as a feature on shows to reach a larger audience than the one limited by the event (Pereira de Sá and Holzbach 2010). However, during the pandemic, the practice of recording lives became recurrent and even an entertainment strategy, happening in the formats of low-production shows – almost improvised – until mega productions and festivals (Sousa Jr et al. 2020).

<sup>78.</sup> The Law Project 1066/2020, which instituted emergency aid in the amount of 600 Reais (around 140 dollars at the time) for informal and temporary workers, Social Security taxpayers, unemployed people, or people from families in which the total income does not amount to more than three minimum wages, was approved at the end of March 2020. Another category of emergency aid was Law Project 1075/2020, which became known as the Aldir Blanc Law. 3 billion Reais (around 515

These categories are collapsed – as well as others presented below. Some answers mentioned only the financial issue, as the one below:

I transferred as many students as I could to online classes. Some students preferred to continue doing face-to-face classes, but unfortunately, I can't give up any students because of the pandemic [;] classes are my only source of income. So, in this case [of presential classes], the classes are individual, with a distance of 1.5 meters and a mask. I also got help from the government because I am an informal worker without a work permit (Participant 20 2020, in response to the survey).

In the response above, the respondent mentions the problem she has been going through to accomplish the migration of classes to the virtual space; the impossibility of giving up her role as a music teacher even if students are unwilling or unable to attend classes online – as it is the charge that effectively maintains the source of income; and the emergency financial aid as something that can help with income.

Another example, this time in the personal-professional improvement category, can be seen in participant 29's account: "Accepting what I don't have the power to change, I have the privilege of being able to stay at home, so I'm studying hard and doing my best to maintain emotional stability" (Participant 29 2020, in response to the survey). In this response, the participant points to her state of mental health and the fact that she is "studying hard" – in this case, studying also served as a source of personal relief. Many other responses had venting tones regarding mental health and worry about the professional situation and career development.

The final example illustrates how the two categories (financial and personal-professional improvement) can come together in a single answer:

million dollars) in financial aid was passed to states, municipalities, and the Federal District, which had an obligation to redistribute the emergency income to cultural workers, artistic spaces (such as concert venues), and edicts, public calls, and awards.

I received an internship grant and keep a private student teaching a class via video conference. In addition, I've been trying to take advantage of the public announcements that come out. Besides, I have been trying to use the time to record my compositions (Participant 43 2020, in response to the survey).

The respondent comments that she is trying to maintain financial gain in three ways: through her internship, by offering online classes, and by applying for edicts – probably an incentive for professionals in the artistic and creative market. In addition, she is also optimizing her time at home to record her compositions, which means ongoing personal-professional improvement.

After the inquiry about their situation during the pandemic, I followed with a couple of questions about the experiences of these professionals in the music market. The first question that opened this form section was: "Have you ever experienced any kind of prejudice/unpleasant situation in the music business for being a woman?" The answers were limited by the options 'yes' and 'no' and are represented in table 1. It is important to note that most women have experienced unpleasant situations simply because they are women in the musical environment. This reinforces the thesis that the professional musical environment still presents strong gender segregation and that women tend to experience situations in which they do not feel comfortable where they work.

Have you ever experienced any kind of prejudice/unpleasant situation in the music business for being a woman?

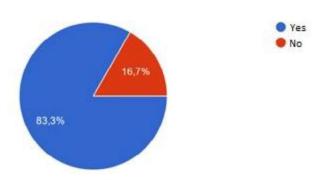


Table 1- Have you ever experienced any kind of prejudice/unpleasant situation in the music business for being a woman? Source: the author, Google Forms.

The abovementioned question was followed by: "If yes, please tell us about your experience(s)?" This second one required long answers which I divided into categories: a) undervaluation in the professional setting, in which the respondents report situations of prejudice and devaluation of the work they do, such as being prevented from going on stage at a concert because they did not believe she was a member of the band, being ignored by male producers, being prevented from playing in some space for not 'looking like' an instrumentalist, among other situations; b) feeling peers don't trust them, in which the respondents report concealed prejudice situations through looks, or patronizing way of speaking that gave them the feeling of being discredited (in this category, the reports generally end in a positive tone, that the feeling disappeared after they demonstrated their ability); c) harassment, in which respondents reported situations of moral and sexual harassment by professional colleagues, such as asking for intimate photos or proposing sex in exchange for a contract; d) undervaluation outside the professional setting, in which respondents heard from friends and family members that they could not play an instrument, or that they could not become professionals because they were women; e) lack of

payment/insufficient remuneration, in which respondents said they were not paid or were paid less to perform the same function as fellow male musicians.

From all those situations (a) and (b) had the most reports. Following the recounts, female drummers seem to have this worse than other instrumentalists as pointed out by participant 15:

Regarding the instruments: it depends on the situation, it's possible to feel some cross-eyed looks when I play drums, for example. Some people (women too!) like to point out that the drum [kit] is not a woman's instrument. Something that does not happen with the keyboards because is 'feminine, delicate, etc' (things that I already heard) (Participant 15 2020, in response to the survey).

The participant's callout here is the sensation of feeling judged ("cross-eyed looks") and questioning her ability and even legitimacy of playing drums based only on the fact that she is a woman. She expressed her double experience (as a drummer and keyboard player) and demonstrated the different expectations and demands depending on how she performed and the instrument she chose to play. The recount of this participant finds a justification in the social and culturally constructed conceptions that deemed some instruments more 'proper' than others to females – it is the 'gendering' of the instruments. In this scenario, because of its materiality and historical and cultural production, the drums are more associated with masculinity even by women.

In the words of bell hooks (2010), "Patriarchy has no gender." With this research, I hope to convey that the impositions in music – including selecting what instrument is more fitting or not for feminine bodies – are rooted in the constitution of a creative market. Hence, as an institution that uses numerous tools to maintain gender differences and hierarchies, the patriarchy needs other women's compliance to work as a collective understanding. Such compliance also pervades how women and nonbinary musicians see each other in the field, if they validate or question each other, and if they aid each other or not. This is also made apparent by participant 11's recount:

(...) I have already been passed over for an internship position because I was a woman: there were already other girls on the team and the [female] project coordinator said that too many women together would not work out well, preferring to give the position to a guy, who could not take the heat and left the position available in a short time (Participant 11 2020, in response to the survey).

This undervaluation in the professional setting is not limited to the instrumentalists, seeing that participant 11 is also a music producer and her recount was based on an event that happened when she was trying to work as a member of a music project. What is evident from her answer is that women in higher positions still reproduce preconceived notions of gender stereotypes and labor.

The last question featured in the survey was "In your opinion, what are the main challenges that women instrumentalists face in Brazil? And how can they be addressed?" Regarding the problems, many pointed out devaluation or prejudice as the major challenge. This was expected, seeing that most respondents passed through situations in which their knowledge and abilities were questioned based on gender, however – and I highlight – the number of women reporting problems in being taken seriously as professionals are too considerable and appear even in the shortest answers.

Several respondents pointed out that one of the biggest problems is the sexual division of labor. Some of them complain that it is hard to keep up with professional and domestic life, including child rearing, and the low pay even in those cases where they are more qualified than men. The issue of the "second shift" is brought up by Hochschild ([1989] 2012) that understands that with female emancipation and positioning in the work market, but without the revision of the roles of men inside the houses, women face the reality and obligation to thrive as professionals and as house maintainers. Most of the respondents that pointed out the second shift mentioned child-rearing as one of the factors of burden – a non-remunerated activity, as Silvia Federici (2000) reminds us.

Lack of representation in the professional setting is something that also appears in some responses. These respondents pointed out the discomfort of being oftentimes the only woman in a team, or the feeling of loneliness – and the problems that urge with it, like the pressure to prove themselves better than men. On this matter, participant 12 wrote:

I believe that sexism is still the biggest challenge that women musicians face in the market. We are always questioned about our abilities and capabilities as if a woman can never play as well as a man. And if she can, "she should only play certain instruments". It is unusual to have famous bands with female musicians. Even more unusual when it comes to drums/percussion/guitar. When we do, there is no equal pay. As in other professions, the reality of the environment reflects society and women must fight hard for their major role, often being sexualized and/or not valued.

How can this change? I don't know, but I believe that collectives, groups, or all-female bands together [can] strengthen the scene [and our] self-esteem and end up encouraging many people to start or continue. Occupying spaces to share knowledge, whether in events or on the internet (blogs, podcasts, channels), is important to conquer spaces. Particularly, I am a little disappointed when female singers with media prominence appear (or don't care) in a band formed by men. However, thanks to these groups that have been organizing, insisting, and fomenting these discussions for a while now, we already have some changes about this (Participant 12 2020, in response to the survey, highlights by the author).

It is possible to see that the respondent points out sexism, the lack of representation, the instruments' imposition, and even how some women do not offer space for other women musicians in the music industry as issues that must be tackled. She also mentions her perception of unusuality when talking about how it is unusual to encounter bands with female musicians and how it is also unusual to find female drummers, percussionists, and guitar players. The perception of some sort of gatekeeping for specific instruments is generalized since at any point in the survey I mentioned the unusuality of spaces as a reality for women in music.

Pondering about how to change the current situation, participant 12 pointed out the formation of groups and organizations to strengthen the participation of women in music, as well as the representation prop via occupation of music spaces, events, and media. The creation of groups and projects aiming at the increase of the participation and representation

of feminine bodies is, therefore, a recognized tool for some people in the music industry. With this strategy, it is possible to fight against the 'boys club' structure that the music industry had created and that is reproduced constantly (Farrugia 2012). This perception also appears in the conversations with the collaborators of this research that I'm introducing in the following section.

Overall, this survey helped trace some of the hypotheses and to develop other questions to the conversations with the collaborators. Although this engaged a small sample of people, some responses match with each other and match with much of the perceptions brought up by the collaborators. This is an indication that the gender issues in music and the way women try to deal with those are on the same line. Their perceptions and my perspective feature in the last two chapters of the present dissertation, now I am going to introduce the Brazilian women that participate in this research and helped me shape it the way it is.

## 2.3.2 Backstage talking: the research participants

In this last section, I am going to introduce some participants I interviewed for the current research. I spoke with a total of 14 collaborators to understand the functionality of projects and their engagement with the music industry. Here, I will briefly introduce the 12 Brazilian participants that helped shape the current investigation and its results with their experience and our exchanges through conversation.

At this stage, the long interview method was applied. McCracken (1988) will introduce the long interview as a qualitative method that follows four basic steps: i) review of analytic categories, ii) review of cultural categories, iii) discovery of cultural categories, and iv) discovery of analytic categories. To apply such methodology, the author advises the research to use "the tidiest and most precise of one's cognitive abilities, but also with the whole of one's experience and imagination" (19) to understand the conversations and to come up with the categories emerging from the interviewee's answers.

The four stages have a purpose: stages i, ii and iii are important for the construction of a route of questions. By reviewing analytic categories, the investigator must do extensive theoretical research on the matter. In this phase, I did the research on works that already centered their efforts on female networks, music, and rock underground, and how these three key terms can be associated.

The review of cultural categories is the background check on the field being analyzed as well as the people that are probably becoming the research participants. In this phase, the mapping of the networks was important to understand the cultural flux of projects aiming in the engagement of female musicians and to discover possible participants for the investigation. Additionally, an important step was to look into the participants' social media profiles (i.e., Instagram and Facebook) before coming up with questions that work for each and every one of them. Because of their differences in cultural background and involvement with projects and the rock underground scene, the interviews were all different from each other. The platforms in which these interviews took place also influenced the dynamics of questions and answers.

The discovery of cultural categories happens through a set of questions used by the investigator to open the interview and get to know biographical details of the participants. Therefore, "Collecting these details in this way helps both to cue the interviewer to the biographical realities that will inform the respondent's subsequent testimony and to make sure that all of this material is readily at hand during analysis." (McCracken 1988: 34). I opened each interview with the same questions (see appendix), even if later the enquiries became more specific depending on the cultural background of the participants. McCracken will defend that the goal of this phase is to observe the key terms that can be brought by the participants, and, in fact, the interviews were the reason why the discussion of an unusual space made sense to talk about.

The fourth step, discovery of analytic categories, is a strategy for the qualitative research process that facilitates the analysis of the data collected in the interviews. This phase of the research, however, varies depending on the investigation and the people taking part in it, including the answers they give to the questions. Hence, "The exact manner in which the investigator will travel the path from data to observations, conclusions, and scholarly assertion cannot and should not be fully specified. Different problems will require different strategies. Many solutions will be ad hoc ones" (McCracken 1988: 41).

Respecting this prerogative, after making the transcriptions of the interviews and reassessing the answers, I returned to the literate which could back me up in the understanding of what I was reading and what the participants were telling me. This process is illustrated more prominently by the first two chapter of this dissertation in which the literary discussion appears as a background introduction for the women and nonbinaries participating in this interview, as well as the cultural context of Brazil. After that, and to support the data analysis, I returned to the social media profile of the participants to check the work they were conducting – being those related with the networks they were involved in or their work as musicians.

To conduct such extensive work, it was important to limit the number of participants for the research to 13 women and 1 nonbinary person. This limited number was strategic to keep track of the participants – something that would not be possible with a larger sample. That is:

(...) "less is more." It is more important to work longer, and with greater care, with a few people than more superficially with many of them. (...) The quantitatively trained social scientist reels at the thought of so small a "sample," but it is important to remember that this group is not chosen to represent some part of the larger world. It offers, instead, an opportunity to glimpse the complicated character, organization, and logic of culture. (McCracken 1988: 17)

The first collaborator I interviewed was Julie Sousa (fig. 9). Sousa was born and raised in the city of Rio de Janeiro. She has a bachelor's in history and performed as a drummer for many years, mainly in the doom metal band Mortarium (see appendix) – the first all-female doom metal band from Latin America.



Figure 9- Julie Sousa profile portrait. Source: The author's archive

Today, Julie works as a drum tutor and as a cultural activist ahead of the projects *Hi Hat Girls drum workshop* and *TREINAM* (where she acts as a Pitching mentor). She is also one of the ambassadors for the *Women's Music Event* and she co-founded the project *Áudia Produtora* – an independent production company focusing on the creation of podcasts.

We have been talking frequently, I participated in many workshops, and we are constantly exchanging messages via WhatsApp and Instagram even after I moved to Germany. For the present dissertation, though, I am going to use two interviews I recorded, one was made on October 6, 2019 (it took place backstage at Suburbia Festival) and the other happened online, via the app for message exchange WhatsApp on November 11, 2020. Follow-up questions, comments, and Julie's accomplishments also appear throughout the next chapters, especially when I deepen the work on the *Hi Hat workshop*, *TREINAM*, and *ASA* (Julie participated as a student in the project in 2019).

The second collaborator I got in touch with was Zélia Peixoto (fig. 10), who holds a bachelor's degree in cultural production and is one of the leaders in the project *ASA*. We met at the headquarters of Oi Futuro, in Rio de Janeiro, on June 26, 2019. I was beginning to try and understand the networks and initiatives focusing on women in the music market and *ASA* was just starting then, having only one edition in 2018 but with promises of more to come.



Figure 10- Zélia Peixoto profile portrait. Source: shesaid.so Medium

As a cultural producer, Zélia saw – and felt – firsthand the treatment women receive in the cultural and creative market. Hence, when she saw the opportunity for the creation of a project that might capacitate women (trans and cis) and nonbinaries in audio proposed by the shesaid.so and the British Council, she jumped in. In our conversation, she explained:

(...) on this technical part, there are a lot of men. I don't know why. I don't know of things [the equipment] were too heavy, I don't know. But in the end, one man suggests another man [to work with], that suggests another and another... (...) [They close themselves] in a circle! And you never have a woman and the women ended up without trust. There's this stigma as well, right? That women do not understand technical stuff, because women are not... taught from a young age, right? To get curious about the audio assemble and so on (...). But there are women in this [phonographic] market and since this is a close-minded market, the men do not trust them, so they don't enter de market. (Peixoto 2019)<sup>79</sup>

Original: "nessa parte técnica tem muito homem. Eu nem sei por que, eu não sei se as coisas eram pesadas, mais no começo, né, sei lá. Mas aí acontece de um indicar outro, outro, outro, outro e você

<sup>79.</sup> All the answers originally in Portuguese in this dissertation were translated by the author.

Here, Zélia explains her reason for collaborating with the creation of the ASA project as something very empirically experienced. The project does not focus only on female musicians, but also producers, managers, editors, broadcasters, among other professionals in the phonographic field. She presents a justification like the one made by Rebekah Farrugia (2012) and her argument that the patriarchy associated technology with masculinity, taking out the tech 'know-how' from the logic of the 'female universe,' as I already discussed in the first chapter. Farrugia will defend that the interest in technology begins at an early stage of learning and, since women are taught to use gadgets but do not really understand the science behind them, female disinterest is taken for granted.

Much like Farrugia, Peixoto sees that there are women going beyond patriarchal impositions that distance women and technology. However, these women need help to gain access to a market that is not altogether welcoming to them.

The fourth collaborator is Cynthia Tsai (fig. 11), whom I met with Julie Sousa's help. At the time of our first conversation, on September 16, 2019, Tsai was still a drummer in two bands, Little Room (indie rock) and The Damnation (hardcore). Today, she plays in the band Pavio (see appendix). She is one of the tutors at the *Hi Hat* workshops and she has been around the underground rock scene for quite some time – her first band was the gothic metal, Trinnity.

nunca tem... Eles se fecham num círculo, né, e você nunca tem uma mulher ali. E a mulher termina que ela não tenha confiança também, esse estigma, acho, de que mulher não entende de coisas técnica porque as mulheres não são levadas a entender desde nova, a buscar essa curiosidade pra essas coisas de montagem e tal. Mas existem essas mulheres no mercado! E como esse mercado é fechado e os homens não confiam nelas, elas não entram no mercado."



Figure 11- Cynthia Tsai profile portrait. Source: The Metal Archives.

In conversations, Cynthia was the first one to bring up intersectional issues for her when it came to being recognized as a drummer. In the first interview I had with her, in September 2019, I asked if she had faced difficulties in her career because of her gender. She answered she did ("it's the stuff from structural sexism"), and, when I asked where she thought the prejudice came from, she said:

Today things are changing... but there's always this structural thing. (...) I was young, I was with my first band, and I was 12, 13 years [old] really... I went to go up the stage in which we [were] playing and the [security] dude didn't want to let me up... Even with me carrying a lot of stuff from the drum! (...) nowadays I have the understanding that [I need] to impose myself more (...) but there is always this thing with the doubt before I start playing... maybe because I am [a] small, Asian woman, I don't know. (Tsai 2019)<sup>80</sup>

80. Original: "Hoje as coisas estão mudando... mas tem sempre aquela coisa estrutural. (...) eu era

novinha, tava com a minha primeira banda, eu tinha uns 12, 13 anos mesmo... [eu] fui subir no palco

de um evento [que] tocamos e o [segurança] não queria deixar eu subir... mesmo carregando um

tanto de tralhas de bateria! (...) hoje em dia eu tenho ciência de que [preciso] me imp[or] mais. (...)

Here, Cynthia makes evident through her own perception that it is not only the fact that she is a woman that affects other people's judgment of her ability to play the drums – there is also a race factor. As I previously discussed in this chapter, Brazil is a multicultural country, and, although this multiculturality should be accepted, it brings stereotypical notions of oneself. These stereotypes do not only fall into one identity classification, but it stands as an intersectional issue: in the case of Cynthia, as a "small, Asian woman" she must behave or appear a certain way to overcome the stereotypes since people probably understand that she does not 'belong' to a drum stool as much as a white man.

Of all the collaborators, Cynthia was the one that probably went through the most changes during the COVID-19 outbreak regarding her career, so I conducted another interview with her on December 3, 2020. Before the pandemic, she worked both as a drummer and as a web developer – something that is not so uncommon, since music, especially alternative and underground rock, rarely provides sustain. However, with the outbreak, the health protocols of social distancing, and the closure of venues and studios, Tsai left the bands she was in and started to focus more on her non-musical career. She moved from Rio de Janeiro to Macaé, a small city in the coastal region of Rio de Janeiro state and confided to me that there is much more difficult to find or form a new band – although that is her intention.

The fifth collaborator is Gê Vasconcelos (fig. 12), who is the percussionist from the saravá metal band Gangrena Gasosa (see appendix). She was born in Magé, a small city in the urban area of Rio de Janeiro state and moved to the city of Rio de Janeiro at 23 years old to study at a university. This is when she started to get more serious about drumming.

mas tem sempre essa coisa da dúvida antes de começar a tomar... talvez porque eu sou pequena, asiática. não sei."

Although the first time I met Gê was because of the band (in 2015, when I was working with the crew of the Metal Ground channel, we did an interview with Gangrena Gasosa), we only started talking in 2019 when I began to attend the Hi Hat workshops.



Figure 12- Gê Vasconcelos profile portrait. Source: Gê Vasconcelos' Instagram.

Most of the time, Gê works as a percussionist, but she is also a drummer and works as a drum tutor. Much like in Julie's case, Gê and I kept in contact with each other even after I came to Germany. We exchange messages and I follow her work via social media. Officially I had two interviews with her, one on October 4, 2019, when I went to her house, and another one on October 25, 2021, via Whatsapp since I was already living in Germany.

One of our topics of conversation was her work inside the Gangrena Gasosa – the band has a long tradition in the rock underground scene of Rio de Janeiro, and it is a work that oftentimes comes with pressure. Gê told me that the pressure comes from older members of the band that do not accept the new work the band is making, the fanbase that got split up

at the time Bolsonaro was gaining attention,<sup>81</sup> and the fact that she is the only woman to integrate the band since its foundation in 1990.

She recounts that for many years – Gê has been with the band for 12 years now – she was the only one responsible for tidying up the backstage so they would make a "good impression" to the press and invited fans coming up after the gigs. She sees that as a problem other woman in bands with men have as well:

Dude, you get stuck in this function almost maternal, right? We take some underwear off the middle of the ground... No, I don't do this anymore, [I take it] and throw it in the trash. Because it is the band's image (...) You stay in this role of the organization. (Vasconcelos 2019)<sup>82</sup>

She affirms that now things have changed: "They [the other members of the band] are more worried about the image of Gangrena, because we are playing in cool, nice places" (Vasconcelos 2021). 83 And that is true. Gangrena Gasosa performed in its first big and, one might say, mainstream event: the *Rock in Rio* festival in 2022. It was the first time the band had the opportunity to play in a non-local and independent festival, but one with big sponsors and earning a good commission for such.

81. This is a common issue concerning the conservatism and fascist behavior in rock and heavy metal scenes; fired up by the violence and hypermasculinity that is commonly associated with them. For a more throughout discussion see *Running with the Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music*, by Robert Walser (2014) and *Heavy Metal: A Cultural Sociology*, by Deena Weinstein (1991).

82. Original: "Cara, você fica presa nessa função quase maternal, saca? A gente pega do meio do chão... Não, não faço mais isso. Eu jogo no lixo, né! É, porque eu tô pensando na imagem da banda, né. (...) Você acaba ficando nessa função de organização."

83. Original text: "Eles tão mais preocupados com a imagem do Gangrena, porque eles estão tocando em lugares maneiros, legais."

Besides her involvement with the *Hi Hat Girls workshop*, Gê also took part in the *ASA* program, in 2019, the second edition of the project. She also created the *Borda Underground*, a website where she does the advertisement of events in the underground scene of Brazil, offering a special focus to women engaging with it.

The sixth collaborator is Letícia Lopes (fig. 13), that is involved in many underground projects besides playing guitar and drums in different bands. Letícia was born and raised in Rio de Janeiro and circulated among the underground scene for quite some time. She plays for the band Trash No Star (see appendix) and acts as a cultural producer.

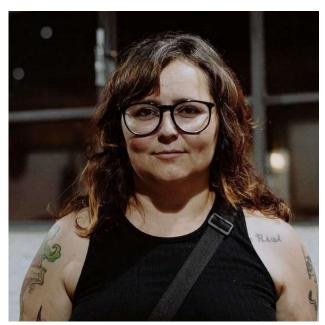


Figure 13- Letícia Lopes profile portrait. Source: Revista Balaclava

Letícia is one of the people responsible for the creation of collective and cultural space *Motim*, a cultural space important to the underground scene of Rio de Janeiro and that is worried about the construction of safer spaces; I will explain the project further on. Besides that, she also is part of the group behind two projects focused on female music production: the independent label Efusiva and the collective Lança. We only talked via WhatsApp, although I went more informally to a couple of events in Motim after its reopening in 2018. We spoke on January 4, 2020; I thought I would be able to go to an event on Motim and I was planning on meeting Letícia and other members of the collective then. Our other

conversation happened on April 13, 2020, after the outbreak, I got in touch with her to understand how they were dealing with the closing of cultural spaces and venues.

The seventh collaborator is the collective *Bruxaria*, from Brasilia, the capital of Brazil. The collective is formed by seven people, but I spoke with three of them: Clarissa Carvalho, Ianni Luna, and Ludmila Carneiro, via Google Meet (fig. 14) on February 2, 2021.



Figure 14- Meeting via Google Meet platform. From left to right, up to bottom: the author, Ianni Luna, Ludmila Carneiro, and Clarissa Carvalho. Source: The author's archive.

Bruxaria is a collective festival that is organized independently in the city of Brasilia where there is an existing and thriving underground scene. The name (which can be translated to Witchcraft) is a representation of the values the collective hold: feminism and female empowerment, connection with nature, and non-conformity in a patriarchal society. To understand the project, the three women decided it would be better to have a group meeting since everything about Bruxaria is decided in a collective manner.

Clarissa, Ianni, and Ludmila have been part of the underground scene of Brasilia, the capital of Brazil, for a long period of time and have organized other feminist events since the time they were at the university. They all have non-musical jobs but are entangled in one way or another in the music business. Ianni is a DJ and artist and has a music project with two other musicians in Germany named Laposivy (see appendix). She also plays guitar in the band Soror. Ludmila is the current vocalist (or "screamer" in her own words) of the band

Estamira. Clarissa is a drummer in three metal bands Soror and Estamira (see appendix). I spoke alone with her after, on August 8, 2021, also via Google Meet – making her the eighth collaborator.

The ninth collaborator is Debby Mota (fig. 15), that was originally from Belém, the capital city of Pará. Debby is a nonbinary person and identify as *elu* in Portuguese, which I will translate as they/them. I first got in touch with them for an article I wrote in collaboration with my colleague and researcher Melina Santos (Medeiros and dos Santo Silva 2022). Later, Debby agreed to participate in the present research even if they are not part of the underground rock scene of Pará anymore. Today, Mota lives in Belo Horizonte, capital of the Minas Gerais state, and is a tattoo artist and not a musician anymore.



Figure 15- Debby Mota profile portrait. Source: Debby Mota.

We talked via WhatsApp audio exchange on June 5, 2021. Debby's experience is important because they come from an area outside the hegemonic space of Brazil's experience – that is, the southeast region, especially the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, and Brasilia, the capital of the country. Besides, Debby is the only collaborator self-declared as Indigenous and Black, offering yet another perspective when it comes to the underground and Brazilian music experience.

Debby brings in their discourse the matter of *mestizaje* as mentioned by Anzaldúa (1987). This is apparent when I asked if they felt there was a lack of women in the punk scene of Pará and they answered:

Sis, I can say that yes, there's a lack of women but not only women. 'Cause in Pará territory there is more than 25% of indigenous peoples occupying it. There are more than 60 thousand indigenous living here with, I don't know, 55 different ethnicities here in Pará. And there is a very beautiful, *very interesting mix of indigenous people with other ethnicities*, right? (...) *We are ethnically confused*. I believe that is why it exists this absence of representation (...). I think that what is missing from us is that more of these people [people of color] not only occupy spaces but understand their importance. And that it is also important that we take this knowledge to other people who are there in the punk scene. Because what happens inside the underground scene [is that]: you enter there and it is difficult for you, for example, to look at yourself and to the other and say, "We have a difference, but this is very interesting because it is... beautiful." Understand? (Mota 2021, highlights by the author).<sup>84</sup>

What Debby essentially believes is that with the right information and understanding of race differences, people from the rock underground scene would comprehend that distinctions should not be base for conflict. As a Black and Indigenous person, they carry these distinctions in their skin – they are in the borderlines, with 'eyes of serpent and eagle,' when it comes to race and gender.

<sup>84.</sup> Original: "Mana eu posso dizer que sim, que existe sim uma falta, né, de mulheres, mas não somente de mulheres. Porque no território Paraense mais de 25% ds indígenas ocupam esse território, né. São mais de 60 mil indígenas morando aqui com, sei lá, 55 etnias diferentes aqui no Pará. E existe uma mistura muito linda, muito interessante dos povos indígenas com as outras etnias, né. (...) Eu acho que o que falta pra gente é que mais dessas pessoas não somente ocupem espaços, mas que entendam a importância delas. E que é importante também que a gente leve esse conhecimento pras outras pessoas que estão ali da cena do punk. Por que o que que acontece, dentro da cena do underground cê chega lá e é muito difícil você, por exemplo, olhar pra si e olhar pro próximo e falar assim: 'Cara a gente tem uma diferença, mas isso é muito interessante, porque... É bonito,' entendeu?"

However, as I previously discussed in this chapter, it is not easy for people in Brazil to share the knowledge or hope Debby holds. As they admit, people in Brazil are "ethnically confused", that is, Brazilians do not see those ideals of Eurocentric whiteness that come together with the exclusion of the 'Other' non-white are not only difficult to reach but impossible for a population shaped by diasporic waves – being those forced or not – and miscegenation as a rule.

After years working in the band Klitores Kaos – first as a drummer and later as the lead singer – today, Debby Mota left the Pará underground scene altogether. The reasons they left the scene are also fundamental to understanding its politically problematic dynamics within. According to them, after fighting over issues regarding race, sexuality, and gender identity, and being stalked by a "radical feminist," Debby gave up and moved away from the punks of Pará. This issue will be presented further in the fourth chapter.

The tenth collaborator is the band: Maluria (fig. 16). Formed by Bianca Santos (bass), Caroline Canigni (drums), and Monique Oliveira (guitar and vocals), Maluria – at the time of our interview – was a fairly recent band but had already gaining some attention in the underground scene, especially in Sao Paulo, where the girls live. I talked to them on January 26, 2022, via Google Meet and, after that, I did a follow-up session with Canigni on February 3, 2022, to understand her experience as a drummer in a small and new band (thus, making her the eleventh collaborator).

85. The term was used by Debby Mota.



Figure 16- Maluria: Bianca Santos (guitar), Caroline Canigni (drums), and Monique Oliveira (bass). Source: Monique Oliveira.

Maluria is a bit outside the delimitations, since they do not really engage actively in any network – not, at least, to the point of our conversation and the writing of this chapter. However, they feature some informational networks, especially those that aim to advertise independent female bands and artists.

Although one-third of the band is formed by women of color (both Monique and Bianca consider themselves Black), they affirm never suffering from racism inside the rock underground scene of Sao Paulo. "But that's a good thing," Monique told me in the interview made on January 26, 2022, "it means things are changing [on the scene]." Differently from the experience lived by Debby Mota, Maluria and its members were not ostracized by the rock scene because of their political stance and activism.

There might be two reasons because of that: first, the girls from Maluria carefully choose where to play opting for spaces they will probably be more well-received (e.g., inclusive grassroots venues, all-female events and festivals, friendly refugee music houses...). The second reason, and in direct connection with the first, is that Maluria is a band from Sao Paulo, the most populated city in Brazil and that offers much more options for 'alternative' and inclusive music places – safer spacers, one might say – for an all-female

band of women of color. The three girls have much more options than a person in the interior, on the margins of Brazil, where conservative thinking gains more prominence because of the low number of people that might confront it without suffering backlash.

The twelfth and last Brazilian collaborator I talked to was Flavia Biggs (fig. 17), a 42 -year-old mother, guitar player, and sociologist working with young adult education. She has a huge relevance to the Riot Grrrl in Brazil, having played with one of the first feminist punk bands in the country, Dominatrix (see appendix).



Figure 17- Flavia Biggs profile portrait. Source: Flavia Biggs

Flavia is the person responsible for bringing the *Girls Rock Camp (GRC)* to Brazil.

Today, GRC is an international alliance, with more than 90 branches around the world. She told me she first got in touch with the *GRC* when she went on a tour in the United States with Dominatrix in 2001. She volunteered at the camp (originally called *Rock'n'Roll Camp for Girls*) and loved the idea so much that decided to take the project with her back to Brazil:

I started to develop electric guitar workshops for girls, because it was what I had within my capabilities there, at that moment, right? We started doing [the workshops] in 2005. And then, in 2013, we manage to come up with a camp with all the volunteers based especially in this feminist punk [scene] of the years 2000, [19]90, from Sao Paulo, that was my network, right? It still is, my band, the other girls' bands,

and everything. And we managed to make a camp and we are here until today, right. Believing in the power of transformation within music and feminism. (Biggs 2022)<sup>86</sup> The Girls Rock Camp Brazil happens annually in Sorocaba, in the state of Sao Paulo, and city where Flavia lives, and the *Liberta Rock Camp Fest*, a music camp with the same structure as the GRC but focusing on adult women that wish to learn how to play instruments and get a start in the music industry or just to build a new ability.

I spoke with Biggs via Zoom on June 22, 2022. Although she is also a musician, playing guitar in the band The Biggs, our conversation drifted almost totally to the organization of the GRC and the Liberta Rock Camp. I'll be focusing more on both projects in the last chapter.

Although all the collaborators have interesting stories on how they first entered the music scene or how they came upon the setting of networks and the creation of safer spaces to combat the unusuality of women and nonbinary people in the industry, these stories will have to appear in future works and publications. Right now, aiming at the centrality of the projects in the present research I want to deepen the explanation of their functionalities through the perspectives and contexts given by this research participants and the others two I interviewed outside Brazil as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Original: "Comecei a desenvolver oficinas de guitarra para meninas, porque é o que eu tinha de... Dentro das minhas potencialidades ali naquele momento, né, a gente começou a fazer em 2005. E aí em 2013 conseguimos colocar um camp em pé, com todo o voluntariado que se chegou, especialmente baseado nesse feminismo punk dos anos 2000, 90, de São Paulo que era a minha rede, né. Ainda é, né, minha banda, as bandas das meninas e tudo mais. E aí a gente conseguiu levantar o camp e tamo aí até hoje, né. Acreditando no poder de transformação contido na música e no feminismo."

In the next chapters, I am going to discuss the projects, how they work and how they affect and are affected by these people's agencies.

# Intermission:87 The Sound of Silence

"...there is a sense in silence" (Orlandi 2013)

As I progress to the chapters where conversations with the participants take center stage, shaping the theory and illustrating practical feminist efforts, one might find it peculiar that these participants rarely mention conflicts if at all. Conducting a sociological study is a complex undertaking as it involves dealing with individuals, sentient beings with their own desires, demands, and political stances. The researcher, too, is an individual who cannot be disregarded in the investigation process, inevitably influencing the data simply by existing in the same space as the interviewees (Glass and Frankiel 1968). Despite my utmost efforts to try to maintain impartiality and avoid biases regarding the topics discussed with the research participants, I could not ignore my own identity as a researcher (Harvey 2013). Likewise, the participants themselves must have been influenced in their discourses by engaging with me—a white, middle-class researcher pursuing a Ph.D. at one of Brazil's leading institutions. Furthermore, even my relocation to Germany may have impacted their choices regarding what to disclose and how to articulate their thoughts.

Without attributing blame to the participants—who generously agreed to be part of this project and consistently shared their work and expectations—certain aspects remained unspoken. This silence may initially be seen as a negative response. As Mónica Brito Vieira (2021) elucidates, silence, in contrast to speech, can also signify a lack of agency for certain individuals. But that is not so with all the cases and certainly not when it comes to the political silence, which can possess significance equal to that of discourse itself. Silence can be a deliberate political choice, serving as a tool for citizens and political activists. As the

<sup>87.</sup> Intermission is a theatre term that marks the brief interval period between two or more parts of a performance.

author asserts, "silence functions sometimes like speech, and sometimes in ways that are different from speech but nonetheless exert agential" (290).

Silence is also part of the meaning in the construction of a discourse, it is a symbol. Eni Orlandi (2013), when discussing the different stances of silence, understands it as shaped by political act, history, and ideology. And as a political choice, silence can be a resistance to oppression and hegemonic power. To understand the silence in these terms, it is important to attain to the social, cultural, and historical contexts: "Without considering the historicity of the texts, the construction process of the effects of meaning, it is impossible to understand the silence. (...) When it comes to silence, we don't have formal *markings* but *clues*, *traces*." (45-46, author's translation).

Theo Jung (2021) conceptualizes "political silence as a communicative omission functioning as a signal" (297). Political silence does not entail complete silence or a lack of words. It is not a result of ignorance that renders one speechless on a certain issue. Rather, political silence involves a deliberate choice not to express an opinion or comment on a particular matter. It is a political act driven by the convenience of unsaid words, not because of any imposed restrictions, but because the unspoken words align with a specific political stance. It is a source of meaning, being imposed or by choice since it is part of the construction of language and of discourse. In this context, silence should not be viewed negatively (Orlandi 2013). Instead, it is a strategy employed to navigate expectations and maintain a sense of community within society. As Jung (2021) argues, silence can be instrumental in respecting people's expectations and upholding values such as trust, which are crucial for those who unite to combat common causes.

Understanding this perspective is crucial for interpreting what appears as silence from the research participants considering their cultural and historical background. They willingly discussed their challenges in the music industry and their involvement in various projects. They openly shared their experiences, including negative ones, as well as their expectations and desires for a more equitable music industry for women and nonbinary individuals. They did not shy away from addressing sexist violence and the encounters with *machismo* situations and people. However, they chose not to disclose instances of discomfort or conflicts they had experienced with other women and non-binary people in the rock underground scene.

I interpret their reasoning by assuming they find it would be counterproductive to focus on quarrels or personal disagreements within such a diverse group of individuals who already face daily struggles against patriarchal impositions, gender roles, and the bureaucratic machinery of the state, which often seems to hinder small independent cultural initiatives. As one participant, who preferred to remain anonymous, explained: "It is already incredibly difficult to manage everything. If I were to consider those who should provide support but don't due to ego or other reasons (...), then I would have given up a long time ago."<sup>88</sup>

"The contours of silence in a specific situation are constituted not only by the (relatively wide) margins of the logically possible, or the plausibly practicable" (Jung 2021: 309). Important contextual factors, environments, and political restlessness contribute to the use of political silence as a strategy. The contextual backdrop I presented in the preceding chapters is what gives rise to the silence observed among the research participants, whether they are consciously aware of it or not. The music industry, reflecting patriarchal norms in society, is a domain where female competition is often employed to undermine non-male

<sup>88.</sup> The conversations with this participant were not included in this dissertation's final material, but I thought it would be convenient to share her sentence here. She agreed that I used it if I did not mention her name. Original: "Já é muito, incrivelmente, difícil administrar tudo. Se eu ainda levasse em consideração todo mundo que deveria ajudar e não fazem por causa do ego ou sei lá (...) aí eu já tinha desistido há muito tempo."

participation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the media has historically perpetuated a narrative of rivalry among women in music (Meltzer 2010). This narrative is also upheld by fans who, instead of fostering a platform that unites women working in similar domains, inadvertently foster divisions by attempting to rank their work hierarchically (Soares 2014).

Due to the perception of women in the music industry as tokens, a phenomenon particularly prevalent in certain genres such as underground rock (Berkers and Schaap 2018), competition among artists can influence their behavior. For instance, the well-known antipathy between Courtney Love and Kathleen Hanna in the 1990s drew significant attention, fueled by discourses within the riot grrrl movement and Love's own demeanor. The intensity of this rivalry was further magnified when Love physically assaulted Hanna backstage at Lollapalooza in 1995. Patty Schemel, former drummer of Hole, recounts this event in her memoir *Hit So Hard* (2017). She writes:

I didn't actually see it happen, but just as we were about to go on, Courtney hauled off and clocked Bikini Kill's Kathleen Hanna just off stage. It was a horrible start to our set and the tour in general, and I'd always liked Kathleen, who I'd known since the early days when Kurt [Cobain] and I were hanging out in Olympia. Kurt had always been friends with bandmates Tobi Vail and Kathleen (...) And, in general, it's not so good form for one feminist to punch another, especially if you don't like her. (...) In footage I can see I'm wearing a Misfits T-shirt, who I remembered was one of Kathleen's favorite bands. It was my little silent protest to support her" (100-101).

During that period, Courtney Love was likely influenced by a volatile combination of drug abuse, grief, and the constant media attention she received whenever she engaged in confrontations—particularly with other women.<sup>89</sup>

89. Kathleen Hanna was not the only woman Courtney Love had problems with. In 1995, during the MTV Music Awards, Courtney threw her lipstick at Madonna in the middle of an interview for the B-Cut channel. Madonna said at that time "Courtney Love is in dire need of attention," displaying her unsatisfaction with the interruption of the interview through her expression. The whole interview can be seen here: <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUCCwmVWIrE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MUCCwmVWIrE</a>.

Competition is not solely a media issue; it is also deeply ingrained in the history of record labels. As discussed in the initial chapter, Lucinha Turnbull, Brazil's first professional female guitarist, formed the band Tutti Frutti with Rita Lee. However, their collaboration came to an end when the record label decided that the band should feature only one female member, and it was deemed more appropriate to have a female vocalist rather than a guitarist. This incident fueled those who sought to highlight female competition in music, leading to discussions of a rivalry between the two artists, despite the absence of any demonstrated animosity between them. <sup>90</sup> Given this historical context, it is understandable that the research participants did not feel comfortable divulging any issues they may or may not have had with one another.

This does not imply that conflicts do not exist. Drawing from Georg Simmel's perspective, the functioning of a community in society requires a state of balance. "As the cosmos requires 'Liebe und Hass,' attraction and repulsion, in order to have a form, society likewise requires some quantitative relation of harmony and disharmony, association and dissociation, liking and disliking, in order to attain to a definite formation" (Simmel 1904: 491). This interplay of dualities, characterized by tension and problem-solving, is perceived

<sup>90.</sup> In the event of Rita Lee's passing on May 9, 2023, Lucinha shared a post in her Instagram profile paying tribute to the friend and creative partner: "There are days in which the day becomes night in plain morning... a night that showed a star, a comet, flying towards the infinite [star, planet, and falling star emoji] it was like this in this Tuesday, 9/5/2023 and soon after, the sun shined and the blue [shy] glowed, huge and beautiful, like your life [blue heat emoji] Rita, have a good trip, kisses to our mothers and so many other loved ones that you will find in the clouds – I will always remember the two of us singing and playing with joy and desire like in this [camera emoji] (...) We will see each other later [kissing smiley emoji]." (translation by the author). The post can be found at: https://www.instagram.com/p/CsDQsPru2BL/.

by individuals within social organizations. As a member of the rock underground scene myself, I have encountered situations where women and nonbinary individuals do not agree with one another, and some prefer to maintain distance to avoid conflict. However, as a researcher, I could not assess and incorporate these disputes into my analysis, despite their potential to enrich the research and the understanding of the participants' social dynamics. For them, it contradicts their politics of coalition (a term coined by Lyshuang, 2006, which will be further explained in the fourth chapter) to openly reveal their disagreements. Except for specific cases. Which comes to the fact that the choice of not delivering silence – as seen in Debby Mota's experience – also comes from a political and strategic space. Mota is a person that left the rock underground scene, leaving their band, and even changing regions. Their experience made it impossible to not speak about the violence they suffered as member of Klitores Kaos and as an advocate for minorities on the scene. Not having the coalition politics or any other loyalty with people of the rock underground scene, Mota chose to spoke and to not change of silence their perspective, shedding light to the problems existing even among feminists in rock music – problems that, effectively, pushed her away from that space.

The silence observed here is not an attempt to disregard conflicts or reinforce a narrative that denies underlying problems within the scene or projects. Rather, the political silence of the participants is a deliberate stance that conveys a message: they refuse to conform to patriarchal norms that perpetuate narratives of female rivalry, especially when such narratives jeopardize the work they are engaged in. Ultimately, the projects they are involved in transcend personal quarrels and internal issues.

In a closing note, as a researcher, I also do not understand the conflicts existing in the scenes and even in the networks as a problem. Rather, it is a demonstration that even with problems and disagreements, these people can come together and conduct the work that needs to be done. They are effectively working in a convivial manner, seeing, and reflecting upon

their differences and working through that to reach a common goal. However, and I cannot stress this enough, as a researcher it is my duty to respect the desires of the participants who so willingly agreed to be part of the investigation. Their silence, being that a political one, because they are too enthralled in the scene or because they believe it is the best course of action to avoid controversy, is thoroughly respected in this piece.

## Chapter 3 | Unusual spaces: networks and strategies

A community, to be one, needs two conditions: symbolic density, which is generally provided by its own cosmos or religious system; and a self-perception on the part of its members that they come from a common history, not devoid of internal conflicts but on the contrary, and that they are heading towards a common future. That is, a community is such because it shares a history. (Segato 2021, 17-18)

Rita Segato defines a community as a social organization where individuals with similar histories or beliefs shape their thinking toward a shared future and common objectives. Much like to such conceptualization, the networks studied in this dissertation are also community-like organizations formed by people that endeavor to a common goal: the increase in the participation of women and nonbinary people in the music industry.

The networks examined in this dissertation are composed of cultural producers, instrumentalists, DJs, and music enthusiasts, who share the belief that change is necessary for women in the music industry. Although not all members of these networks are musicians, they are united in their desire to effect change. Zélia Peixoto serves as an example of how these networks operate. Peixoto's background was in cinema and not music. However, her experiences as female proletarian shaped her activism toward the music industry. Despite not having a music background, she drew her experience to create a network that provide safe spaces for women and non-binaries to thrive in music, the *ASA* program.

In this chapter, I present specifically some networks present in the mapping I conducted as part of fieldwork for this investigation. As previously mentioned, the complete mapping is included in the appendix of this dissertation. The projects are categorized as informational, relational, educational, and creative networks – categories emerging from the activities they promote. The four categorizations are a way to understand how initiatives are organized and their final goal. In a brief explanation, informational networks base their efforts in the creation of representation through the advertisement of women and non-binaries musicians' work – and, sometimes, life stories – and events in which they are involved.

Relational networks are those that open spaces and create strategies for women and non-binaries to work with each other; to subvert the *boy's club logic* of the music industry. <sup>91</sup> Educational networks are those focused on the construction of knowledge and music training of feminine-identified people from the teaching of an instrument, until the production of projects in the music industry field. And finally, creative networks are those that offer spaces and tools for women and LGBTQI+ folks to demonstrate their creation in a safer environment – e.g., night clubs and music venues that follow gender equality policies.

These projects are considered networks due to the potential for co-influence between actors involved in them. While the categories matter for the understandable functionality of the projects, they are not watertight classifications. Rather, a project can modify its end goals depending on context and the own will of its organizers. One project can also present characteristics of one or more group categories – or axis – depending on the aim (offer more visibility to women, produce a festival, create a collective, etc.).

Without further ado, in the present chapter I am focusing the first two analysis efforts on the two categories most dependent on online engagement: informational and relational networks (see table 2). Informational networks are those projects focusing on the promotion of female professionals – their stories, trajectories, and experiences. Informational networks often bring about the interviews and promotion of events featuring all-female and mixed bands or events with women and nonbinaries in their organization and conception. Relational networks, on the other hand, aim to engage the hiring of female-identified professionals in the

<sup>91.</sup> The expression is used time and again by female-identified people and non-binaries when referring to the lack of opportunities for non-males in the music industry. That was also shared, for example, by Alexandra Ampofo, promoter and co-founder of Women Connect, in an interview for Radio 1 Newsbeat: "[The music industry] It's an old boys' club. It's a gentlemen's club - and that needs to change." See the full interview in: https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-53478809.

music industry. In this sense, the relational networks create lists and catalogs that portray female-identified professionals' profiles. Some relational networks even promote events in which women and non-binaries can get to meet each other and, thereupon, form partnerships and collaborations.

#### Informational networks **NEGRAS NO HEADBANGUEIRA** UNIÃO DAS MULHERES NO UNDERGROUND MEIA MEIA MEIA UNDERGROUND Year of creation: 2017 Year of creation: 2020 Year of creation: 2018 Location: Blog, Instagram, Location: Instagram and Location: Instagram and and Facebook Facebook Facebook Cornerstone: promotion of Cornerstone: promotion of Cornerstone: historical women and LGBTQI+ the rock underground scene reports on Black women in people working in the rock of Brazil offering a spotlight rock'n'roll. Promotion of the underground scene. Mapping to the women working in it. rock underground scene. of women in bands. Relational networks WOMEN'S MUSIC EVENT RAIA NA MÚSICA Year of creation: 2016 Location: Website and offline events Year of creation: 2019 Cornerstone: all-female and non-binary Location: Website, Instagram, and Youtube friendly award event, conference, and Cornerstone: connect female-identified workshops to promote the connection people who work in the music industry. among professionals in the music industry as well as their recognition.

Table 2- Informational and Relational networks scheme

While some projects may not be limited to a single category, they all have a central idea – an initial tactic to include women, make connections, and ultimately create a network. Based on these cornerstones, I classify large, multi-purpose projects that have a foundation for their existence. However, it is important to note that this analysis will not cover all 56 projects, but only a selection of them.

My primary focus is on underground projects run by individuals who thrive in underground scenes. I aim to highlight the reality that smaller projects also have the agency to reach people and make a difference in the industry structure. For instance, works on well-known projects like *Female:Pressure* has already been conducted by several researchers (Farrugia 2012, Morgan 2016, Reitsamer 2012, Wuhrer 2021). This demonstrates how well-accepted and understood the project is, at least from an academic perspective.

My goal is to show how other projects – projects from Brazil – work; the strategies they use depending on the time of their activity, and how they differentiate from initiatives that have an impact on a more global level, such as the case of *Female:Pressure*. Even if those smaller projects function without the same amount of time, funding, privileges, or multiple activities from a north-based initiative.

In the first two sections of this chapter, I focus on the informational and relational networks, explaining their structures and functionalities, including whom they intend to reach and how they achieve this. These projects have a significant online presence, and therefore, this chapter delves into the online dynamics that shape the relationship between women and music networks. It examines the ways in which these networks promote themselves, considering factors such as interactions, social media functionality, and changes observed throughout the research years. In the next chapter, I explore the educational and creative networks, where I conduct in-depth interviews with collaborators.

After the previous sections, I will discuss the importance of networks for female drummers, particularly in terms of representation, community building, and combating the feeling of isolation that is often reported by women occupying nontraditional spaces in music. This section aims to understand the specific uses of networks made by women who may find it more difficult to gain recognition or opportunities in their desired position - in this case, as drummers in a band. Despite the progress made over time, the position of female drummers is

still challenging in Western society. While the numbers are changing, it is still relatively rare to encounter female drummers in mainstream music – an important catalyst for representation – even though a growing number of women are making a name for themselves in more niche fields or smaller scenes.

While conducting this research, it was relatively easy for me to connect with female drummers who were interested in sharing their experiences. They often referred to colleagues who faced similar challenges and were also fighting for their place on the throne. 92 However, I frequently heard variations of the same phrase during my research: "I don't think I know any female drummers personally." This statement does not exclude well-known and accomplished drummers like Patty Schemel or Sheila E. but rather emphasizes their perceived distance from the average female drummer. This belief perpetuates the myth that female drummers are rare and almost imagined.

The women I interviewed for this study are not famous, and many are struggling artists who rely on networking to promote their work and establish their names in the industry. While some are solely drummers, others are also guitarists, bassists, teachers, mentors, programmers, and more. Many of them faced significant challenges during the pandemic, and at least one had to give up drumming entirely. Thus, their perspectives on networks are specific to their experiences but also reflective of the challenges faced by many women in the music industry.

Before delving into the sections, I would like to share a few observations I made while analyzing the projects. *Women in Music*, created in 1985, is the oldest project depicted on the map. Initially based in the United States, it now identifies itself as a 'global network'

166

<sup>92.</sup> The throne is a jargon used by drummers to refer to the drum stool.

with chapters<sup>93</sup> established in more than 25 countries worldwide. It is among the most recognized organizations striving to address gender inequality in the music industry. *Women in Music*'s longevity and global reach contribute to its prominence. Despite originating in the global north, it has expanded its presence to the south with chapters in countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Nigeria, and India. However, it is worth noting that the project's board of directors comprises members only from the global north, which suggests that it is more of a northern than a southern project. While this may not initially be problematic, as discussed in the second chapter, it is crucial that southern countries assume leadership roles in their own projects to produce theories and break the cycle of the south being considered the 'Other' (Spivak 2010) by reinforcing policies needed in those epistemic spaces.

Aside from that, there are differences between north and south projects in their constitutions and their understanding of the consequences by institutions, such as governmental and private initiatives. These differences became evident to me while talking with Mirca Lotz<sup>94</sup> on November 11, 2022. Lotz, a non-binary person, is one of the people leading *musicBYwomen\**, located in Germany, and works specifically with the chapter in Munich. The project receives public funding from both federal and city authorities, and it also receives monetary support from *Music Women\* Germany*, a national independent organization that has been working since 2017 to increase the number of women working in the German music industry.

<sup>93.</sup> Chapter organization is the classification for local branches of global initiatives. *Women in Music* has chapters on Brazil, Canada, India, Spain, South Africa, among other countries around the globe.
94. Besides *musicBYwomen\**, Lotz is also responsible for the festival and curation agency *[fwd: like waves]* and the project *Network the Network*. On this specific date, we only spoke about the *musicBYwomen\** project, but the *Network the Networks* was an important platform for me when researching projects and conducting my own map.

Lotz pointed out that, even post-COVID, they did not suffer much from a lack of funding. In contrast, projects created in Brazil, such as the *Hi Hat workshops*, *Bruxaria Fest*, and *Motim*, must rely on crowdfunding campaigns, donations, collaborations with small businesses and creators, and sponsorships to have access to specific materials. When I asked Lotz why they thought the state was concerned about supporting the project and what they gained from it, they mentioned that this was likely influenced by recent identity movements that also affect Germany.

I can only tell you about Munich because that's [the person] whom I work with. I mean in general, that changed. It used to be not that much [funding for projects like *musicBYwomen\**]. But because, like, with the MeToo movement and also, I guess, with Black Life Matters, there was a lot of change in finding that diversity is something we need to work on as we are [still a] very wide male normalized society. I guess so... There was always a little bit of funding, but it definitely changed in the past years. So, there was a lot more awareness about [what] we need to do [to] change. (Lotz 2022)

The women I spoke with in Brazil do not share the same perception. While they have noticed an increase in interest in projects that provide and create spaces for women in music, this interest comes mostly from the private sector and small businesses. The Brazilian government and other state institutions have yet to demonstrate support for such projects.

In my evaluation, the biggest difference between German and Brazilian projects lies in how they are sponsored and who is interested in funding initiatives that address the position of women and nonbinary people in music. For instance, even large projects like the *Women's Music Event (WME)* and *ASA* struggle to receive sponsorship and support from the local government due to the recent reduction in funding and call for tenders. As a result, these bigger events rely more on private initiatives and participant fees, which limit the number of women who can access them.

Smaller projects, on the other hand, have even less access to funding and depend more on volunteer work to make them happen. I will explore this issue further in the fourth chapter,

where I will discuss projects like the *Hi Hat workshops*, the *Bruxaria* festival, and the *Girls Rock Camp*.

One noteworthy point in the general list of projects is that the recognition of the need for women to occupy more space in music is not a recent development. This is evident from the existence of *Women in Music* (established in 1985), *Mujeres en la Música* (established in 1989), the *International Alliance for Women in Music* (established in 1995), and *Female:Pressure* (established in 1998). All these projects were created before the year 2000 when internet use was somewhat limited. With the exception of *Female:Pressure*, the other projects are characterized as associations or organizations that support female musicians. It is also worth noting that all of them were founded in northern countries but arrived in southern countries in the following years.

However, after 2000, the number of projects decreased, with a resurgence happening again after 2010, with many of them located in Latin America. Coincidentally or not, Latin-American feminism gained more prominence during the same period, with *Ni Una Menos* emerging in 2015 and gaining global popularity. Additionally, the 2010s proved to be an important time for feminism, with the idea of 'popular feminism' being revived via online activism and digital manifestation (Banet-Weiser 2018).

This is also the reason for this chapter. With the pandemic, many of the projects I had been analyzing before increased their online presence as a way of maintaining relevance despite the inability to meet in person. However, long before that, other initiative developers, advertisers, and fans relied solely on digital communication tools and platforms for their work and activism. Therefore, I will be presenting the informational networks that structure themselves in the online sphere to publicize the work of women in rock.

### 3.1 Getting the word out: Informational Networks

When I first investigated the networks, I noticed their high presence on social media, especially on Instagram. Many projects, particularly those in Brazil, favor Instagram and Facebook over other platforms. In 2020, Facebook was the social network platform with the most access in Brazil, followed by YouTube and Instagram. <sup>95</sup> Given that the projects I am currently analyzing do not primarily focus on long video releases, it is not surprising that their presence is ubiquitous on both Facebook and Instagram. These platforms allow for faster production and spontaneity and are frequently used by *Headbangueira 666* and *Negras no Underground*. Additionally, according to a report by *We Are Social* and published by *Hootsuite*, in 2020, Brazil experienced the second-largest increase in social media usage due to social isolation measures taken to combat the spread of COVID-19, second only to the Philippines. <sup>96</sup>

Almost all the projects presented in this section have a strong presence on social media, particularly Instagram and Facebook, and their creators adjust their online performances depending on the platform they are using. The only information-based project that does not follow this pattern is the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*, which is a web magazine that focuses on showcasing the work of female drummers in Brazil. *Hi Hat* follows the pattern of traditional press media and has not published another issue since 2016 when it evolved into a drum workshop. However, the publication remains an essential element for the small community of female drummers in the Brazilian rock underground scene, offering them

95. Information present in the report Digital 2020 developed by We are Social and Hootsuite. The results can be found in: https://www.hootsuite.com/resources/digital-2020.

<sup>96.</sup> The study in its entirety can be found and downloaded at the following link: https://www.hootsuite.com/resources/digital-2020.

visibility and a platform to showcase their work. Some drummers I interviewed still remember the publication fondly even after its discontinuation.

In addition to *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*, the other projects that I am examining in this section are *Headbangueira Meia Meia*, *Negras no Underground* (*NNU*), and *União das Mulheres no Underground* (*UMU*).

# Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia

Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia is a project created by Nayara Angelica, an independent communicator and member of the rock underground scene based in Belo Horizonte, the capital of Minas Gerais. The first post by Headbangueira on Instagram dates back to February 1, 2020, which coincided with the start of the pandemic in Brazil. The post (see fig. 18) states, "Headbangueira aims to celebrate and publicize the female metal scene and its aspects. If you have a band or are a musician, send us your release and let's show together that a woman's place is wherever she wants! A woman's place is in metal" (translated by the author)<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Original text: "A Headbangueira tem como objetivo enaltecer e divulgar o cenário do metal feminino e suas vertentes. Se você tem banda, é musicista envie pra gente seu release e vamos juntas mostrar que lugar de mulher é onde ela qui[s]er! Lugar de mulher e no metal"



Figure 18- Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia first Instagram publication (print screen).

Source: Author's Archive.

In the first Instagram post, Nayara Angelica already manifests the cornerstone of her project: to offer a platform for advertising women in metal. The project's posts center on the heavy metal scene in the feminine universe by calling it the "female metal scene" ("cenário do metal feminino") as if the two are inherently connected. To *Headbangueira*, metal and femininity cannot – or should not – be separated and should be celebrated together.

Knowing that the heavy metal scene is typically associated with masculinity, 
Headbangueira subverts this logic by setting men aside and focusing on women doing metal. 
The project is committed to reducing gender differences in the scene, bringing a shift by 
stating that metal is a woman's space. This is reinforced by the project's name: 
Headbangueira is a neologism that uses the term 'headbanger,' which is often used in Brazil 
to describe male fans of metal music. Nayara turns the word into a feminine version of 
headbanger by adding '-eira' at the end of it, which is commonly used to make words 
feminine in Portuguese.

Headbangueira uses a personal Facebook profile instead of a public page, which is a less common choice for projects and informational networks. Initially, the project had a public page with a few posts since it was just starting its activities. However, on November 11, 2020, the page was deleted, and a profile page was created. A message was posted on its Facebook feed (see fig. 19) announcing the change, stating that the profile page would be better for interaction with the Instagram profile and urging followers to connect with them there: "I decided to delete the page and create a profile. It will be better for the interaction with the insta[gram] profile. Actually, [follow] us there!" (translation by the author).



Figure 19- Post on Headbangueira (the change from page to profile, print screen). Source: The author's archive.

The decision to change the hosting format of the *Headbangueira* project from a page to a profile on Facebook was made due to the difficulties Facebook poses in integrating pages with an Instagram profile. It is worth noting that not everyone has the skills to manage social

media effectively, and platforms can be complicated. Integrating pages and profiles requires time, work, and patience. Although Instagram and Facebook are both products of Meta Platforms, Inc., <sup>98</sup> the connection between the two platforms, especially in the management of a Facebook page, is not always straightforward, making it challenging for new users or those unfamiliar with its functionality.

In contrast, connecting a personal Facebook profile and an Instagram account is much easier to achieve. When a person, or in this case, a project, has profiles on both Instagram and Facebook, they can be connected almost instantly, allowing actions such as sharing feed posts and stories on both platforms and adding the same friends from one platform to the other.

It is important to note that the process of adding someone is different on Instagram and Facebook. On Instagram, users can 'follow' another profile to see its posts in their personal feed or stories. This can be a 'platonic' relationship since one profile does not necessarily need to follow the other. The same thing happens with the page variant on Facebook – anyone can 'like' a page. However, this is not the case for personal profiles on Facebook, where people need to accept friend requests.

Headbangueira's Facebook presence is that of a project page but with characteristics of a personal profile. This could be a strategy employed by Nayara Angelica as it is well-known that Facebook restricts access to posts in pages to the public to force monetization, meaning that those who pay more have more visibility. Since *Headbangueira* is not listed as a page, its reach is the same as any other profile to those who add the project as a friend.

Moving on and focusing on a specific action promoted by the project – and that shows how the network was consolidated –, on December 12, 2020, *Headbangueira* 

<sup>98.</sup> Formerly named Facebook, Inc., Meta Platforms is a multinational technology conglomerate located in the USA. Their main products are the social media platforms Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp.

promoted an online festival to advertise the creation of the project and underground bands named *Vox Festival* (see fig. 20). The festival was promoted on both Instagram and Facebook accounts and had the participation of 12 bands from the Brazilian rock underground scene.



Figure 20- Promotion poster Vox Festival. Source: The author's archive

During the pandemic, online events became increasingly popular as a means of entertainment while adhering to social distancing guidelines, as well to promote smaller bands and artists. *Headbangueira* followed this trend in 2020 and early 2021, during which many online musical events were held around the world. With the easing of health and safety measures and the reopening of venues, the number of such events has decreased significantly. Nevertheless, it was an important initiative that effectively put *Headbangueira* on the map of the Brazilian rock underground scene.

The *Vox Festival* played a critical role in promoting and giving visibility to bands with female musicians (i.e., all-female, or mixed bands) and bands with Black musicians in the rock underground. In addition to showcasing these bands, the festival also featured various rounds of discussions with guests, including activists, women involved in the rock

underground scene, and female artists and poets. Therefore, the *Vox Festival* was not just an online event for promoting the project, but also a space where women could share their experiences and enjoy music made by other women. After the event, *Headbangueira* resumed its main activity, which is promoting independent rock bands and artists recognized as part of the underground scene, as well as events happening in Brazil and other projects that share the same values. This is achieved through various methods, such as sharing pictures, edited post images, and videos, including comment videos, reaction videos, and music video reproductions. Additionally, flyers for festivals and gigs are reproduced to further promote these events.

Nayara Angelica and Franciele Mendes, the latter joining the project later as a content creator, conduct frequent live streams on Instagram, interviewing artists, producers, and event organizers. This strategy aims to promote the work of women in the underground scene and create a space for discussion among women. In addition, they share pictures with other women from presential events, reinforcing the centrality of their bodies in connection with *Headbangueira*. This constant presence is unlike other mainstream advertising projects that often have an organized team, depersonalizing the webpage. By showcasing Nayara and Franciele's bodies, faces, and personal opinions, *Headbangueira* personifies itself and conveys authenticity to the project. This is because people in the scene know them, and thus, are more likely to legitimize the project, knowing who is behind it.

### Negras no Underground (NNU)

Headbangueira is not the only project that uses personification as a means of acquiring legitimacy. Negras no Underground (NNU) was created by Ana Paula Porfirio, a journalist originally from Recife, the capital of Pernambuco, but now living in Curitiba, Paraná. Similarly, to Headbangueira, Ana Paula also puts herself and her political beliefs on display

on *NNU's* profiles. She often posts selfies with bands' merchandise, pictures with people she meets at events, and when promoting the *NNU* project, it is her picture that is displayed instead of the project's logo. Coincidentally, Nayara Angelica, Franciele Mendes, and Ana Paula Porfirio are all Black women. The act of putting their bodies on display in a scene where the exclusion of Black women is significant is, in itself, a political act.

Apart from the personification, *NNU* and *Headbangueira* have their differences, the first being the time of the project's existence. *NNU* was created in 2018 and, as an informational network, also had the goal of promoting the work of women in the rock underground scene. However, its scope is different from *Headbangueira*, as it aims not only to showcase women in the Brazilian rock underground but also to tell the story of women in rock music in a more general sense.

*NNU* also has a presence on Facebook and Instagram, both of which were created in 2018. In 2019, the project also had a blog, but it only lasted for a year. In 2021, a Twitter page was created, but the activity there is less frequent than on Facebook and Instagram.

As mentioned earlier, *NNU's* approach to the rock underground is through music history. Since its inception, the project has consistently mentioned black rock musicians such as Tina Bell, Rosetta Tharpe, and Tina Turner, using their images as a recollection to highlight how black history and rock history are intertwined.

In the first chapter of this work, we discussed how female representation in music can be a strategy for dismantling what has been termed unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy. *NNU's* use of history to recall these representations is a practical application of the strategies discussed earlier. Ana Paula Porfirio single-handedly researches and posts about the lives of black women in rock to destroy the double invisibility cast upon them by white and patriarchal society (Beal 2008) and to give credit where it is due.

Like what I presented in the first chapter, Ana Paula does not segregate the history of rock as a North American genre from the contemporary references present in Brazil. At first glance, the *NNU* feed may appear disorganized with a mix of references, notices, pictures, recurrent event promotions, images of bands and historical figures, and selfies of the creator (fig. 21). This mixture exists because the project is a personal expression of Ana Paula, who posts about the bands and artists she enjoys, her relationship with the rock underground scene, and her references as a Black woman.

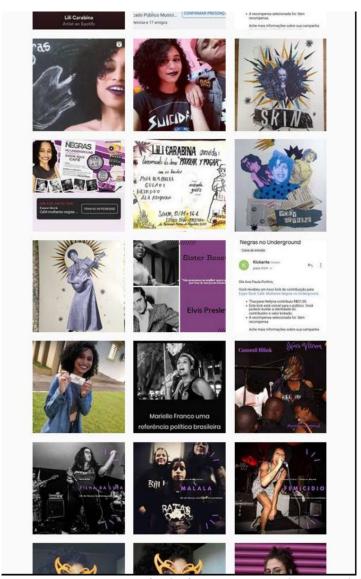


Figure 21- Instagram feed of Negras no Underground (print screen). Source: NNU Instagram profile (public).

In this context, it becomes evident that the network Ana Paula is building to share information about the history of rock underground stems from her own desires and perceptions of the world. Simultaneously, the project's concern with bringing together historical figures with contemporary Black artists and bands might serve to convey the following message: Black people not only can but undoubtedly do make history together with rock. In other words, rock music is incomplete without Blackness.

While *NNU* has a particular focus on highlighting Black artists and bands, the project also demonstrates an intersectional feminist approach. To promote discussions about Blackness and the rock underground scene, *NNU* organized the *Black Underground* event on November 16, 2019 (see figure 22). The event featured the participation of bands and hosted rounds of discussions with individuals in the scene, including musicians, researchers, fans, and producers. To advertise the event, *NNU* raffled off the biography of Tina Turner, *Tina Turner: My Love Story* (fig. 23), underscoring the project's emphasis on the history of Black women in rock music.



Figure 22- Black Underground event poster. Source: The author's archive.



Figure 23- Negras no Underground raffle off the Tina Turner biography (print screen).

Source: The author's archive.

One characteristic of this event was that it included participants of different genders and races. Although *NNU* primarily focuses on promoting the work of Black women in rock music, the project adopts an intersectional approach when creating a space for conversations about racism, sexism, misogyny, and societal inequalities. By inviting people with diverse backgrounds, the project aims to foster a debate that can facilitate change. Adopting a strategy like that proposed by Hill Collins (2000), Ana Paula discovered her agency within the intersections to overcome the white patriarchal power that tries to control her and other Black women.

The event allowed *NNU* to construct a plural view of the rock underground scene and understand it as a challenging space for both women and Blacks. However, the project is not a multiculturalist movement, which would only reinforce colonial problems, as Curiel (2007) has denounced. Although the event included participants of different races, the focus was primarily on the actions of Black women in rock music.

It is important to acknowledge that while NNU does prioritize giving space to contemporary Black artists, little attention is paid to the historical representation of people of

color in rock music in Latin America. In fact, the most significant historical influences of the project are Black women from the Anglophone context, such as Rosetta Tharpe, Poly Styrene, Tina Turner, and Tina Bell. The lack of references to the representation of Black people in Brazilian rock may be justified by the history of Black people in Brazilian rock itself. When rock music was introduced to Brazil in the 1950s, the country already had a popular music industry with a multi-cultural and multi-racial structure. Therefore, the genre was absorbed by the white and middle-class context (Dapieve 2015). With few exceptions, such as Fulgencio "Baby" Santiago, 99 there were not many Black people in the rock scene in Brazil initially.

Historically, and based on what I discovered during this research, things seemed to change only in the 1980s, when genres like punk and heavy metal began to gain popularity. Artists such as Clemente Nascimento, who worked with the bands Restos de Nada (considered the first Brazilian punk band), Condutores de Cadáver, and Inocentes, as well as Chico Science, BNegão, Renato Rocha, and Marcelo Falcão, gained prominence in the rock scene. However, references to Black women working as musicians in the scene are non-existent. It is important to remember at this point that the first woman to ever play an electric guitar professionally in Brazil was Lucinha Turnbull in the 1970s, as demonstrated in the first chapter.

Therefore, it is not surprising that *NNU* focuses its historical efforts on Black women from the US, because although it is more common to find references to men making rock music, the artists the project returns to are accepted and legitimized for their work in the genre.

99. Considered the first Black rocker in Brazil. He was born in Sao Paulo in 1933 and, by the 1960s, he had worked in many rock compositions. He earned the moniker of "Brazilian Chucky Berry" (Rosa 2018).

The personal approach adopted by *Headbangueira* and *NNU* is not the only one out there. Some projects opt for a more impersonal approach that promotes individuals on the scene through a more professional performance. This is the case with *União das Mulheres do Underground (UMU)*.

## União das Mulheres do Underground (UMU)

UMU was founded in 2017 by Nata de Lima, who also happens to be the lead singer of the hardcore/crust metal band Manger Cadavre? (see appendix). The project aims to catalog Brazilian rock bands with women in their lineup. It started as a collective blog that accepts articles, reviews, interviews, and releases about the underground scene, with a focus on bands featuring women. UMU maintains a blog on the WordPress platform, as well as profiles on Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram. The blog has a simple design without any complex or imposing features, mirroring the aesthetics of zines present in the rock underground and Riot Grrrl scenes (see fig. 24). Such aesthetics went on to be reproduced by creators in the scene even after the digitalization of the material.

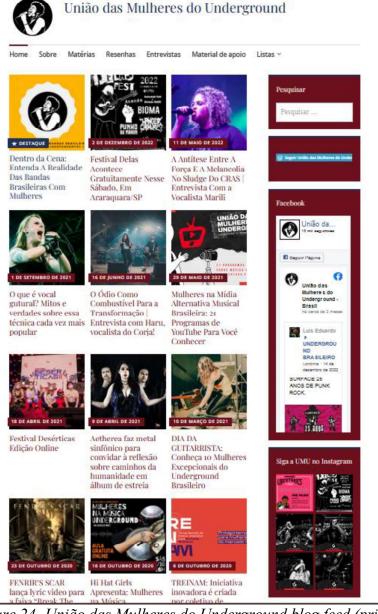


Figure 24- União das Mulheres do Underground blog feed (print screen). Source: The author's archive.

The straightforward format of *UMU's* blog is mirrored on its Facebook and Instagram pages, creating a sense of consistency and cohesion across the project's online presence. *UMU's* focus is on promoting bands, artists, and cultural events through advertising. The collective uses its YouTube channel to showcase female musicians by conducting interviews and recording live performances. The project members are either musicians, producers, or

fans with a connection to the rock underground scene. They leverage their backstage access to create content videos, but video postings are more infrequent than other platforms due to the challenges of video production without funding. *UMU* is an independent, non-profit collective.

From 2017 to 2021, *UMU* conducted a mapping of Brazilian rock bands that had at least one female member. <sup>100</sup> A total of 654 bands were included in the final map, revealing that only 142 cities out of Brazil's 5,570 municipalities had bands with women in their formation. The wealthiest region in Brazil, the southwest region, had the highest number of bands, which underscores the need for an intersectional discussion about the inclusion of women in rock music that considers issues of class and demographics.

The study also found that, out of the total number of bands analyzed, only 64% had a female instrumentalist. Most women in the bands were on vocals (515 or 79%), followed by 180 bass players (27%), 143 guitar players (22%), 64 drummers (9.8%), and 21 keyboard players (3.2%). Economic factors, such as the high cost of instruments and lessons, were found to be a major deterrent to more women having access to musical instruments. For instance, female drummers were in the minority due to the cost of an entry-level drum set in Brazil, which costs at least 4,000 BRL (around 780 Euros). Other factors such as finding a suitable place to store the drum set, transportation, and maintenance were also cited as challenges. Additionally, only 51 sets were all-female bands, representing 7.7% of the total.

These findings confirm the conclusions of a survey conducted by the author in 2020, which also highlighted the economic factor as a major influence on women's choice of instrument. The cost of drumming equipment, transportation, storage, and classes for

https://uniaodasmulheresdounderground.wordpress.com/2021/03/18/dentro-da-cena-entenda-a-realidade-das-bandas-brasileiras-com-mulheres/.

<sup>100.</sup> The full map can be found in the following page:

professionalization makes it particularly difficult for women to become drummers. This contrasts with the lack of women keyboard players, since not all bands require a keyboard, whereas all bands need a drum set. The chapter will later explore how women drummers rely on networks to maintain their presence in the scene, starting with overcoming the difficulty of accessing the instrument.

This data shows the limited spaces available to women in music and underscores the importance of projects like *UMU* in addressing these issues. It highlights how these spaces are socially constructed by multiple factors, including accessibility to certain functions, the availability of material, and opportunities and challenges shaped by class, race, age, and location. These limited spaces are evident in the numbers gathered from the survey and mapping conducted by *UMU*, emphasizing the intersectional nature of the problem.

Another point worth noting is the message that *UMU* aims to convey as an informational network that focuses on the intersectional issues faced by women in the underground rock scene. In the Brazilian rock underground, women are typically represented as white, thin, sensual, and sexualized. As Medeiros (2017) observed in her study on the rock metal scene in Rio de Janeiro, the construction of a femininity that conforms to the sexist hegemony scene is illustrated using images of women dressed in corsets, high-cut boots, low-cut black dresses, and metal chains around their necks, serving as fetishized signs of what it means to be feminine. *UMU* dissociates itself from this type of representation with the picture chosen for the project's logo, which features a Black woman with an afro haircut, singing, wearing a black T-shirt, and jewelry commonly worn by female rock fans (i.e., rings, bracelets, choker, and hoop earring; see fig. 25).



Figure 25- União das Mulheres do Underground logo. Source: The author's archive.

Apart from the clothing, the logo alludes to the way in which female metal singers portray themselves in pictures. Holding the microphone, the singer opens her mouth in a screaming manner, and her head is projected backward as if taking a breath in between lines. Any research on image banks online that portrays the keywords 'female, rock, singer' directs to images like this one, with the difference being that most of the time, they feature white women.

Interestingly, the woman representing *UMU* in the logo may not be initially representative of what has been called unusuality. According to *UMU's* data report and other reports (Liska 2019, Einselohr et al. 2019), the singing position is the most represented by women in popular music. Recalling Bilbao's work on gender categorization in rock, since the singing role is closer to a pop nod – with the construction of the diva, for example – it tends to be more accepted for women who join rock music bands.

However, two factors demonstrate that *UMU*, with its logo, is indeed advocating for women's occupation of unusual spaces: the first is related to heavy metal, and the second is

related to the race of the woman represented in the logo. As argued by Schaap and Berkers (2014), "grunting – growling with a low-pitched, guttural voice – has particularly strong masculine connotations, making it a less conventional form of female participation" (102). In heavy metal – or, in the case studied by the research, extreme metal – the position of women as guttural singers is also an unusual space because men are more legitimized, accepted, and well-received in that role. The authors demonstrate that female "grunters" in extreme metal music face gender-biased evaluations due to their numerical minority, discouraging other women from performing in certain areas, including guttural singing. Hence, the increase in participation of women in the metal and rock underground scene and female representation is crucial.

The *UMU* logo and the project's work play an important role in this regard. The logo conveys the representation of a female grunter and given that most of the women in the collection are from the rock underground context, they are sending a message: females should be extreme singers in metal music. Additionally, the representation is not of a white woman, which is a more common picture to find when looking for references of female guttural singers. The logic behind featuring a Black woman in the logo also reinforces *UMU's* message of inclusion, diversity, and the goal of undoing the marginalization of 'forgotten' bodies. The representation of the Black woman is therefore a statement of the project's intersectional feminism stance.

The informational network I am bringing is the analysis of the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*. Since this is a network mostly centered on female drummers and drum enthusiasts, I am going to talk more about it in the final section of this chapter. As previously discussed in the first chapter, I am particularly interested in the experiences and strategies employed by female drummers to support my thesis on the construction of unusual spaces for female-identified people and how they challenge them. Thus, understanding the *Hi Hat* project,

which has evolved from an informational network to an educational network, is crucial to my argument.

The idea behind *Hi Hat* stems from the inequalities faced by some female drummers in heavy metal music, such as Julie Sousa, who wanted to help other drummers like herself and the next generation. This concern aligns with contemporary feminist movements, which aim to empower individuals to act against bias. It is important to note that gender, music genre, and instruments are interconnected factors that contribute to the sense of unusuality experienced by Julie and other female drummers. By exploring these discussions, I aim to provide a comprehensive understanding of the barriers women face and how they resist them. The *Hi Hat* project is a testament to this resistance.

In the next section, I will further explore another category that emerged from my fieldwork: relational networks.

## 3.2 Making connections: Relational Networks

Relational networks, like others, are not exclusively online networks. The internet is an important tool for connecting people and fostering relationships among social actors. The goals of relational networks for women and nonbinaries in music are to connect professionals, share experiences, and develop work-related relationships.

Relational networks grew significantly in the Riot Grrrl environment, with its central idea of female association against sexist bias and limitations. However, the idea of constructing connections among women and nonbinaries to share experiences and pursue personal gain is not new. The call for sisterhood first appeared in feminist discourse in the 1960s (Lyshaug 2006) and the demand for collective thinking was mistaken for the cutback of differences. For instance, throughout feminist history, feminists of color were often criticized by white feminists for individualizing an agenda that should be collective; a racist

claim since, as Davis (1983) demonstrated, the agenda was focused solely on white feminists' demands. In Riot Grrrl, young activists who did not share all the same principles of the movement or fit the pattern were often denounced as outsiders. Nguyen (2012) made a case with this specific phenomenon, recalling that white riot grrrls did not enjoy being called out for their racism and would, in many cases, exclude Black girls from the scene.

Considering the dissonances, is it still possible to claim that these are networks relational networks are different because there is always a practical goal to accomplish with the formation of these connections. The people involved in such negotiations are not necessarily aiming to debate female inclusion in a specific music scene or change the engines of the patriarchal order. They want to work with other women and female-identified people.

Relational networks operate to connect professionals, allowing them to perform their respective duties. One prominent example included in my mapping is the *Female:Pressure* platform. Although not being evaluated here, Rosa Reitsamer's (2012) findings are worth mentioning when studying the network. As a "youth-oriented (sub)cultural network," *Female:Pressure* members "utilize the Internet for networking, cultural production, and political activism" (407), with the aim of influencing the next generation of female DJs to stand up for themselves and others like them. Only through intergenerational relationships can gender bias be challenged and the electronic music scene truly transformed. Despite concerns among women and female-identified people in *Female:Pressure* about the influence of the next generation, the central approach to their demands remains gender issues.

Another key point is that not all *Female:Pressure* members agree with each other all the time. Political beliefs vary based on context, social class, race, sexuality, and geographical location. However, the network persists because each member shares the common goal of creating connections among women that they can leverage for professional gain.

The relational networks I present here are *Women's Music Event (WME)* and *RAIA na Música*. Both projects focus on women working in the underground music scene and creating safer spaces in the industry by going against the imposition of non-inclusive spaces. I also briefly mention the German projects *musicBYwomen\** and *Music Women\** to highlight the differences I noticed between networks from the south and north. Although the goal is the same – revealing that non-inclusive spaces for women in music are a universal issue – the way southern and northern projects are implemented differs.

Women's Music Event (WME)

WME is a multifaceted project that encompasses the first all-female music award event in Latin America, a conference for women working in the music industry, and a database that profiles women professionals, including roadies, agents, artists, and bands. WME also initiated IGUAL (EQUAL), a label launched in 2021 aiming at the promotion of more gender-inclusive lineups in music festivals and crews. IGUAL is an initiative that aims to construct safer spaces, as discussed by Hill and Megson (2020a, 2020b), by raising awareness among music venues and events. The label is a seal or stamp of approval for music enterprises committed to creating a fairer industry by ensuring that events features "at least half women, non-binary people and/or trans individuals from both the artistic and production fields" (WME, online, translated by the author)<sup>101</sup>.

*WME* was established in 2016 by Monique Dardenne, a producer, agent, and DJ, and Claudia Assef, a DJ, journalist, and author. Monique and Claudia recognized the need for greater female representation and visibility as professionals working in the music industry in

.

<sup>101</sup> Original text: "pelo menos metade das mulheres, pessoas não binárias e/ou indivíduos trans tanto das áreas artística e de produção."

different fields. They understood the challenges women face in the industry and started to think of solutions.

In 2022, Claudia Assef, during an interview with the channel Adnews, emphasized that the idea behind *WME* was not to create a space for women and female-identified people in music in an aggressive manner. As she stated, their goal was to "put the woman as the main character" without using the "combative aspect of feminism." Assef also emphasized that gender equity and equal rights were the ideals of *WME*. By amplifying the almost non-existent space for female-identified people, *WME* aims to educate the market, present talents, and highlight the market potential in various areas.

WME is a platform that makes women central figures in the music industry, where they can be recognized for their work. The project not only promotes visibility, but also creates connections among women and nonbinary people in music.

In 2019, as I was exploring potential participants for my research on the construction of networks in Brazil, I conducted interviews with two professionals listed in the *WME* databank: cultural producer Yula Ribeiro and composer, instrumentalist, vocalist, and cultural producer Elisa de Sena. With the increase of female networks in Brazil, I was interested in studying *WME's* potential as a place for encounters and female visibility. To better understand the functionality of the network and its databank, I randomly selected both following their profile as music producers. The databank has a straightforward search structure (see fig. 26), featuring filters to facilitate finding professionals, categorized by state, city, profession, and name. Users can specify at least one option or scroll through the list without making any selection.

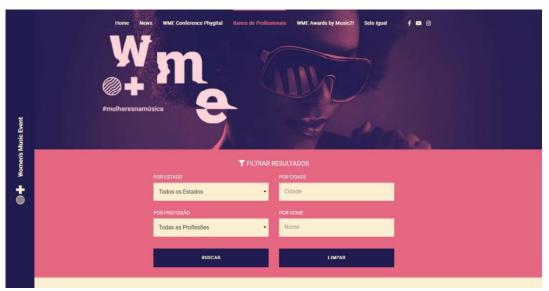


Figure 26- Women's Music Event search engine databank (print screen, 2020). Source: The author's archive.

The databank offers options for various professions related to music, including artists, DJs, instrumentalists, producers, booking managers, journalists, composers, tutors, teachers, vocalists, engineers, performers, researchers, consultants, marketing and social media workers, collectives, and other projects. The profiles are listed in alphabetical order, and there are around 648 profiles hosted on the databank. Each profile includes information on the Woman's profession, city of residence, a short biographic text, and contact information.

However, the project's focus has shifted over time, and the databank is not *WME's* top priority. In 2019, I registered my own profile on the website through a form that is currently unavailable. Attempts to access and update my profile were unsuccessful. The reason for the lack of updates and the takedown of the form may be because the databank works more as a reference listing than a tool for sharing profiles. Instead, *WME* focuses on more complex actions, such as organizing the hybrid conference *WME Conference Phygital* (which took place in 2022) and the annual *WME Music Awards*.

I spoke with Yula Ribeiro via WhatsApp on June 19, 2019. She mentioned that she had recently joined the *WME* platform after discovering the project through her own music

collective, which focuses on teaching women how to produce music. I was the first person to contact her through the databank. However, it was through *WME's* offline events, such as conferences, workshops, and talks, that Yula was able to establish more significant connections and expand her professional knowledge. In her own words: "I always try to attend workshops or talks related to my area of work; you know? That's where I meet people with whom I can network, explore potential partnerships, job opportunities..." (Ribeiro 2019). This suggests that the databank is not the primary source of contact with other professionals and that *WME's* focus on educational networks is a crucial aspect of the project, as I will further explore in the following chapter. Via a WhatsApp audio exchange, on June 16, 2019, Elisa de Sena told me that she had recently joined the *WME* platform. Unlike Yula, Elisa had not participated in any events organized by the project, as she was balancing her life inside and outside of Brazil, where she has an international career and had lived in Greece for a period. However, she viewed the databank as a source of prospects:

My presence on the website is a new thing (...) but I think the website is super important, super important because the women connect with each other, right? And even if this connection is not [personal], it is real, right? [Even if] it happens a little bit later, as it is in my case, there I have a universe of possibilities. Besides the events, right, they [WME] also promote partnerships. (de Sena 2019)<sup>102</sup>

For Elisa, the databank is a 'universe of possibilities,' a list of references for artists like her who often need recommendations for whom to work with and how to reach them. However, this perspective may have changed over the past four years. As I mentioned earlier, the

2

<sup>102.</sup> Original: "A minha presença dentro do site é uma coisa nova (...) Mas eu acho o site super importante, super importante, porque as mulheres se conectam, né? É mesmo que às vezes essa conexão não é [pessoal], ela é real, não é? Pessoal. [Mesmo que] ela aconteça um pouco depois, quando é no meu caso, eu tenho ali um universo de possibilidades. Além dos eventos, não é, que elas [WME] promovem parcerias."

databank went offline briefly, and when it returned, many of its features had disappeared, such as the form and the ability to upload a profile picture.

Therefore, my initial idea of exploring the *WME* professional databank as an interactive relational network was only partially accurate. While the databank can help with visibility, it appears to be less effective in forming professional connections among women. As Yula suggested, events such as workshops and presentations may be more useful for fostering interaction among professionals. However, as Elisa argued, the creation of databanks for female professionals is still important in addressing the underrepresentation of women in various industries, including music. Women have historically been excluded or discouraged from pursuing careers in many fields, resulting in a lack of diversity and a shortage of female role models and mentors. Databanks provide a reference point to demonstrate that women workers in the music industry are a reality and can help connect professionals and increase visibility and awareness of women's contributions and accomplishments. This increased visibility may inspire and encourage other women to pursue similar careers, with their professional stories briefly portrayed in short biography texts on the databank.

## RAIA na Música

Working on the key to visibility, but also aiming in this relational network, the next project I am looking into is *RAIA na Música*. *RAIA* is a project created in 2019 by Amanda Desmonts, communicator and cultural producer, and creator of the producer label RAIA Produz. The project began with a mapping idealized to collect data about the Women working in the production of music in Brazil in 2019.<sup>103</sup> After that, the project took another turn by

103. Unfortunately, the website of the mapping is no longer available.

becoming a "Platform made by women on behalf of our visibility in the music scene," as described in the text found on the Instagram of the project (see fig. 27).

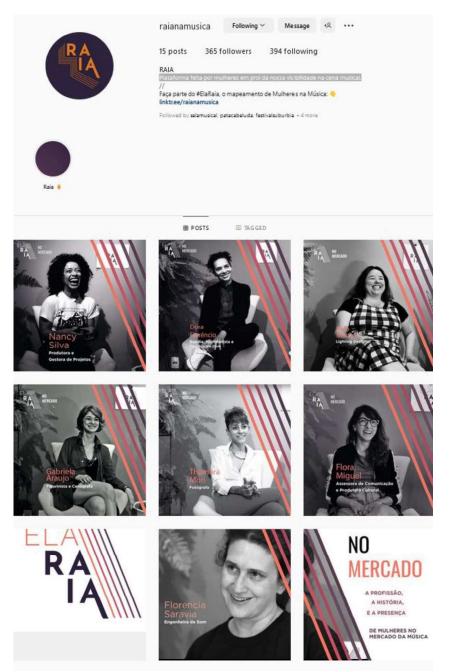


Figure 27- RAIA na Música Instagram profile and feed (printscreen, 2021). Source: The author's archive.

With the project, *RAIA* released a series of videos interviewing seven women workers in the music industry: Florencia Saravia (sound engineer), Flora Miguel (PR, journalist and cultural producer), Thamara Mori (photographer), Gabriela Araújo (costume and set designer), Miló

Martins (light designer), Dora Florêncio (roadie and sound technician), and Nancy Silva (producer and project manager). The series was called #ElaRaia no Mercado (transl.: #SheShines on the Market) and was topics of discussion were the presence of women that work backstage and the stories of the women interviewed. The video with the most quantity of views (352) featured Florencia Saravia that has worked as a sound engineer since 1994. In it, she discusses that the first time she tried to work in the music industry was in 1987 but only manage to really work on it in 1994. Saravia puts that two issues made it difficult for her to enter the music industry as a sound engineer: the price of good sound recording and equipment and the fact that she is a woman. However, she affirms that things are coming to a slow change in the acceptance of female producers, and, with the technological development and the cheapening of music technology, more women producers can start working without the need to go to a studio.

The video series, using the interview of Florencia Saravia as an example, aims to generate engagement, inspire other females that wish to work in an unusual space in music, and publicize the women that are working in the music industry. The relational characteristic comes from this possible interaction they might have secured with people that wished to work with good female professionals but did not know where to look for them.

Eventually, in the middle of the pandemic, the *RAIA na Música* project came to an end. Its website was taken down and now the registers that still exist are the YouTube channel and the Instagram profile. Before the website's disappearance, it was possible to access a databank like the one *WME* still hosts on its website. I presented the structure of this databank platform in a paper presented at the international conference KISMIF (Medeiros 2021).

The continuity of many projects in this field is often hindered by a lack of funding or support, making it difficult for volunteer women and nonbinary people to sustain them. While

these people may gain visibility and legitimacy within the industry, other forms of capital are necessary to sustain projects in the long term. One example of a successful project is *Music Women\** in Germany, which provides financial support and resources for its team of women and nonbinary people working in the music industry. Mirca Lotz, a freelancer producer, and booker, spoke with me to explain how *Music Women\** works. The project comprises chapters across Germany and supports events, such as conferences, music festivals, and rock camps, that prioritize the representation of female and nonbinary musicians. Additionally, the project produces data on gender issues within the German music industry and promotes professional connections through an online databank.

Mirca told me the project is inspired by the work conducted by Keychange, <sup>104</sup> but the network started to exist after several organizers from different initiatives, like *musicHwomen*, from Hamburg, and *SoundWaves Fest* got together. The idea was to create an association that could back up smaller networks and enterprises heading to a change in the music industry.

The workaround *musicBYwomen*\* changed after the pandemic break as well:

(...) we used to have a lot of people come for meetups before the pandemic [at offline events]. It doesn't really work anymore. I don't know like there's still sometimes people coming. Yesterday was full, [there were] 40 people. But then like other times there was like the first meet up after two years it was like 0 persons coming. (...) So, it changed. I think a lot of people left the business or they focus on other things, or they might just not be interested (Lotz 2022).

Mirca explained that she feels that smaller groups, like feminist associations, and smaller festivals, got stronger after the pandemic. One of the reasons might be the lower number of

104. Keychange is an international and global network that focuses on the build-up of representation for Women and LGBTQI+ people in the music industry. The project works by helping initiatives around the world, promoting discussions at events, and by also facilitating the booking of non-binary and female-identifying people artists, and professionals.

people involved in going to conferences and workshops promoted by the association even after the end of social distancing and other health security measures.

The same thing happened with the projects in Brazil, especially those that balanced online and offline activities. One thing that did not change for *Music Women\** and *musicBYwomen\**, though, was the sponsoring and funding of the events. As a matter of fact, as I have been following the online performance of both networks since 2019, I saw an increase in their presence and the development of the databank platform.

When I first got to know about *musicBYwomen\** – the first project on increasing representation for women, female-identified people, and nonbinary people in the German music industry I have encountered – their website was a little behind the development I used seeing with projects like this one. There was some information missing, its structure was not polished yet, and some data was put in a confusing manner. The project, however, already hosted and indicated the *Network the Networks*, a project led by Mirca Lotz herself. I subscribed to the newsletter of *musicBYwomen\** and made a deal of checking it time again to map the changes in case there were any.

During the pandemic, *musicBYwomen\** started to promote online events and started to contribute more to the facts and figures released in 2020 by *Music Women\**. The website also improved the experience for the user and now had a clearer connection with the *Music Women\** databank. This piece of the network itself grew a lot, with the addition of new professionals and a new category: the job portal where music enterprises and institutions can post open vacancies for professionals. The databank is not only about connecting female-identified professionals, but also about pressing the industry to hire even more female musicians.

The funding for the maintenance of the platform is fundamental and *Music Women\** manages to earn that because of its connection with *Initiative Musik*, the funding program

dedicated to the promotion of music initiatives from the German federal government. The project also counts on the partnerships of private investment, but their largest support is the State, something that, for a long time, Brazilian initiatives could not really have.

## 3.3 Hit So Hard: drummers and networks

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I discussed the historical context behind women playing drums, including the biases associated with strength, power, aggressiveness, and technique. Societal norms tend to associate drums with masculinity rather than femininity, making it an unusual space for females who play drums in rock music. As a result, they need strategies to strengthen their position as instrumentalists.

To better understand the drummers' perspectives, especially those who participated in this research, and the importance of networks, it is essential to explore the stories they share about their choice of instrument. Networks are made up of various connections among individual social actors that are perceived as part of a collective. The aim is to search for a common future to overcome difficulties and struggles, as Segato (2021) argues. The encounter of female drummers is a vital aspect of this process of creating networks.

Therefore, before delving into the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*, I am examining the experiences of these women.

In this section, I present conversations with Julie Souza, Cynthia Tsai, Gê Vasconcelos, Clarissa Carvalho, and Caroline Canigni. They are all drummers active in the rock underground scene of Brazil, mainly in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, and São Paulo. Almost all of them are directly associated with one network's organization.<sup>105</sup>

The first question posed to the research participants was how they first started playing drums. As noted by Meghan Aube (2011), a woman's initial experience with drums can be a crucial moment in her development as a professional instrumentalist, as this experience can be shaped by role models that can influence expectations and feelings of disadvantage. In this sense, the initial experiences of the research participants varied.

Julie Sousa, Gê Vasconcelos, and Caroline Canigni all began playing drums as adults. Canigni stated that her interest in music started at the age of 15 when she began listening to rock music, particularly punk and heavy metal. This sparked her desire to learn how to play an instrument:

I did all hell to get my father to allow me to play electric guitar or drums. I wanted it so much... And then my father bought me a used [acoustic] guitar because, at the time, we didn't have the means to afford such a luxury. Musical instruments were a luxury for us. So, he gave me a [used acoustic] guitar, right? Because the drum kit was also an expensive instrument back then and still is today. Besides the drums, there are also cymbals, and on top of that, drumming classes are usually more expensive than other classes. (...) So he gave me this acoustic guitar, [and] I started playing [guitar] with my neighbor, and man, I hated it! I was so bad. I hated the chords. (...) So with this guitar, I started to play bass [lines]. At 16 years old, I met a bass player who played really well – he's even the producer of Maluria today – Guto [Passos]. And so he started to teach me how to play bass because he saw how I played the guitar like a bass. (Canigni 2022)<sup>106</sup>

105. Caroline Canigni is not involved with any network brought up by this study. She does benefits from some networks with her band but not in a direct manner. Nonetheless, Caroline knows of some

projects and indicated me to some of them in our conversation.

106. Original: "Desde essa época, putz, eu infernizei meu pai pra eu poder tocar guitarra ou bateria. Queria muito... E aí meu pai comprou um violão usado, tipo, cara, naquela época a gente não tinha muita condição se dar a esses luxos, instrumento musical era um luxo assim pra gente. Daí ele me deu um violãozinho assim, né, usado, né, porque a bateria sempre foi um instrumento caro, desde

Caroline Canigni shared with me that she was inspired by melodic metal bands such as Nightwish, Shaman, and Angra, and as a result, she wanted to learn how to play the drums. However, due to the high cost of a full drum kit, her father was unable to afford one for her, so he bought her an acoustic guitar as the next best option. Despite her efforts to learn to play the guitar, she found it difficult and turned it into a makeshift bass guitar. As a bassist, she did have a small band that ended when she started to work and go to university.

After leaving the band, she thought she was done with music:

Later I stopped, I abandoned and said "that's enough, I'm not doing that anymore. I won't play anything." But I always had that little thing for the drums, right? (...) Well, I started to work, I started to go to the university, I changed jobs and I manage to earn better, and then, at 25 [years old] I said, "now I can pay for classes, I can pay for a drum kit, I'm going for it!" (Canigni 2022)<sup>107</sup>

At 25 years of age, Caroline decided to finally accomplish her desire to learn how to play drums. She, then, had the means to do so and could afford the price of the kit, its maintenance as well as the lessons.

aquela época até hoje, né. E além da bateria tem os pratos, e além dos pratos tem a aula — a aula de bateria costuma ser mais cara do que as outras. (...) E aí ele me deu esse violão, eu comecei a tocar com meu vizinho e cara... Fui muito mal, detestei as cordas. (...) E aí cara, nesse violão eu comecei a tocar baixo, com 16 anos, conheci um baixista também que tocava muito, inclusive ele é hoje produtor da Maluria, o Guto. E aí ele começou a me ensinar a tocar baixo, porque ele viu que eu tocava o violão como toca o baixo."

107. Original: "Depois eu parei, abandonei, e falei 'ah, chega né, num vou mais fazer isso. Não vou mais tocar nada.' Só que eu sempre tive aquela coisinha lá pela bateria, né. E aí, enfim. Bom, comecei a trabalhar, comecei a fazer faculdade, mudei de emprego, consegui ganhar melhor e aí, com 25 anos eu falei 'agora, dá pra pagar aula, dá pra pagar bateria, eu vou pra cima!"

Julie Sousa and Gê Vasconcelos had similar experiences to Caroline Canigni. Julie also grew up in a household filled with music, although her parents did not play any instruments. She listened to rock music in her teenage years and tried taking acoustic guitar classes, but it wasn't what she expected. She gave up playing any instruments until her early twenties when she finally found her passion for playing the drums: "And so when I went to the drums (...) I knew it was that that I wanted. It was a lot... A very quick identification" (Sousa 2019)<sup>108</sup>

This identification is not an exclusive feeling of Julie, but other research participants also express it. The desire to play the drums and feel as if the drum kit "embraces you" – to use the feeling proffered by Cynthia Tsai in our conversation – seems to be a common occurrence. For example, Angela Smith (2014) also recalls how Karen Carpenter playing the drums was the most natural sensation. Patty Schmel (2017), in her autobiography, also describes the feeling of being part of the drum as a sort of catharsis. Playing the drums provides not only a musical outlet but also a sense of self-identification and release for many women. This may explain why many of them return to the instrument despite the societal gender biases they face.

Gê Vasconcelos, like Caroline and Julie, had an early experience with music. Her parents frequently hosted parties at their home, and a pagode<sup>109</sup> group often performed. This music genre, popular in Brazil, is known for its use of percussion. Gê's exposure to

108. Original: "E aí eu fui pra bateria e a primeira vez (...) eu já sabia que era aquilo que eu queria. Fui muito... Uma identificação muito rápida."

<sup>109.</sup> Pagode is a subgenre emerging from samba and the pagode groups are formed by people that play samba at parties. Its formation usually features percussion playing and chords instruments followed by collective singing. In the state of Rio de Janeiro, it is very usual for people to hire or invite a pagode group to sing at family lunches or dinner.

percussion at a young age was through observing people playing it, although she only became interested in studying music later in life, at the age of 22 or 23. When I asked why she did not start earlier, Gê recounted a negative experience with a school band teacher who denied her the opportunity to play the drums:

[The drums] are different from electric guitar and bass that girls start [to study] early. I think I would've started early given the opportunity. It was this experience with the school band that got me disinterested. (...) There was a band in the school, and I got really excited, and I took a floor tom to play, right? So, I practiced with the floor tom for a period of time, and I was the only girl playing the tom. Later, the school changed the [music] teacher (...) and he would say that girls couldn't play percussion? I would have to play the plates or flute. (...) I got so angry, I understood what he was about but [I thought] 'I don't want to be the metronome, I don't want to play this stupid instrument.' So, I left the band, right? And I ended up getting uninterested in music. (Vasconcelos 2019)<sup>110</sup>

Gê's frustration stemmed from the teacher's prohibition against her playing a sturdier percussion instrument like the drums. The plate, or cymbal, is also a percussion instrument but in the formation of a big band – such as the ones more common in schools – it is seen more as a time counter than anything.<sup>111</sup> Hence, Gê's frustration with being put in a place that

<sup>110.</sup> Original: "[A bateria] é diferente da guitarra e do baixo que as meninas começam cedo. Acho que eu teria começado mais cedo, mas teve um episódio na banda da escola que me desinteressou.

(...) Tinha uma banda lá na escola fiquei animada, peguei um surdo pra tocar, né? Aí fiquei um tempo lá ensaiando com o surdo e eu era a única menina que tocava surdo. (...) E aí entrou um professor que [falava]: 'Meninas não tocam percussão.' Aí tem que tocar prato ou aquela... flauta. (...) Eu fiquei puta, eu entendi ele mas 'Eu não quero ser o metrônomo e eu não quero tocar esse instrumento idiota' então eu saí da banda, né. E acabei me desinteressando por música."

<sup>111.</sup> In addition, cymbal players are often perceived as less proficient and even more comical than other musicians in a big band. It is not uncommon to encounter references and jokes in popular culture regarding cymbal players and their role within a band. Such humor is evident in the 7th episode of the first season of the *Cheers* sitcom, "Friends, Roman, and Accountants" (1982), where a

was seen as less enthusiastic and dynamic than behind a drum, where she would be more visible and could perform a larger variety of chords.

Gê Vasconcelos' disinterest in playing an instrument was due to the lack of encouragement from her teacher at a crucial time in her life. It was only after she moved to a bigger city and started university that her interest in drumming was rekindled. She participated in workshops on instrument assembly and maintenance, took drumming classes, and played percussion in a jongo<sup>112</sup> circle before joining the band Gangrena Gasosa as a percussionist. I asked her if she did not wish to play the drums in the band to which she responded:

I had to face the question, well, I don't have a good drum kit, you know? (...) First I had to spend money on equipment that I couldn't afford, you know. I don't know, it is better to have someone who already has the equipment, Alex [Porto, Gangrena Gasosa's current drummer] is already a professional drummer, he already plays in thousands of bands, he already has clamps, a cymbal, I so forth. He has the drums. And I don't. I have my humble percussion here, but if it is some important business, I rent it cheap from my former [percussion] teacher. (Vasconcelos 2019)<sup>113</sup>

percussão]."

comedic reference is made about what symphony orchestra cymbal players do when counting long pauses. Furthermore, in the movie *School of Rock* (2003), the character of Jack Black, Dewey Finn, transforms Freddy Jones (played by Kevin Alexander Clark) from a cymbal player into a drummer, thereby portraying cymbal playing as a source of amusement.

<sup>112.</sup> Jongo is a music genre and dance from the Black diaspora in the southeast region of Brazil.

<sup>113.</sup> Original: "Aí eu esbarrei com a questão, po, não tenho equipamento maneiro de bateria, sabe?

<sup>(...)</sup> Primeiro gastar dinheiro com equipamento que eu não poderia, né. Sei lá, é melhor alguém que já tenha equipamento, o Alex já é baterista profissional, já toca em milhares de bandas, já tem pinador, tem prato, não sei o que... Tem a bateria [boa]. E eu não tenho. Eu tenho a minha percussão aqui humildezinha, mas se for algum negócio importante eu alugo barato do meu ex-professor [de

As previously discussed, the high cost of drum kits makes it difficult for women to pursue this instrument. However, Gê remains determined to form her own band and continue playing the drums. In 2021, she was able to practice more at home thanks to the *Hi Hat* project, which provided her with a drum and mute skins. This demonstrates the importance of networks in helping female drummers overcome obstacles and access the necessary equipment.

Before delving into that, let me introduce the other two drummer participants of this research: Cynthia Tsai and Clarissa Carvalho. Both started playing drums as teenagers and were influenced by rock music from a young age. In a conversation with me in 2020, Cynthia shared that her father collected LPs from the Beatles, her first music teacher was from the rock scene, and her first band played grunge music. She added, "Personally, rock has brought me a lot of friends! (...) I love to play rock! It's where I can express myself, liberate myself, you know?" (Tsai 2020)<sup>114</sup>

Cynthia started playing drums at the age of 12, after trying and abandoning other instruments such as acoustic guitar, keyboard, harmonica, and flute, which she found "too boring." With the encouragement of a friend who was taking drumming lessons, she decided to try drums and found herself in the instrument: "[with the other instruments] I think I was searching for myself, and I found myself in the drums." (Tsai 2020)<sup>115</sup>

Once again, the argument arises that the drum is more than an instrument; it is a place of self-discovery. Caroline Canigni also shared this sentiment when she said,

<sup>114.</sup> Original: "pessoalmente, rock me deu vários amigos! (...) Eu amo tocar rock! É onde eu me expresso, onde eu me liberto, sabe?"

<sup>115.</sup> Original: "[com outros instrumentos] eu acho que eu tava me procurando e eu me encontrei na bateria."

And man, it seems not, but that motto that people say that the instrument chooses you is real because I played trombone, bass, and guitar, and when I sat down on the drums... The first day I was totally horrible, uncoordinated, but by the second day I already had some rhythm. I was like, Wow! (Canigni 2022)<sup>116</sup>

It could be argued that the presence of the drum kit and its characteristics, such as size, loudness, and the need to use the whole body to produce sound, are crucial for this self-discovery. When Caroline mentions how the "instrument chose her" and when Cynthia says that she found herself in the drums, it becomes apparent that the drum kit is more than just an instrument.

Despite the challenges, the type of affection the drum kit inspires is greater than any social imposition or construction of unusual spaces. Even with difficulties, female drummers continue to pursue their passion, and networks are beneficial to help them find and access the necessary materials.

Cynthia Tsai initially faced resistance from her parents when she expressed her desire to learn how to play the drums:

At the time, my parents did not like it very much because it was a not-so-cool instrument for girls. It was too manly, and I was too young, and I already had passed through a thousand instruments, so they didn't want [to let me play]. But since I already did an English course, and my friends were really bad at it [laughter]... I started to offer English mentorships to them... and I started to save to pay for experimental [drum] classes and for my own drum.

So, when I managed to [buy] part of a drum my mom felt sorry for me and paid for the rest! Then I never stopped! (Tsai 2019)<sup>117</sup>

116. Original: "E cara, assim, parece que não, mas aquela máxima que as pessoas falam que o instrumento te escolhe é real, porque eu toquei trombone, eu toquei baixo, eu toquei violão, e cara quando eu [me] sentei na bateria... No primeiro dia fui totalmente horrível, né, descoordenada, mas no segundo dia eu já tinha algum ritmo. Eu fiquei, 'Nossa!'"

117. Original: "Na época, meus pais não gostaram muito não, porque era um instrumento não muito legal para meninas. Era meio másculo demais e eu era novinha e já tinha passado por mil instrumentos, e aí eles não queriam [deixar eu tocar]. Mas daí como eu já fazia cursinho de inglês e

The perception of Cynthia Tsai's parents was that the drum kit was not suitable instrument for girls. Furthermore, they thought, at first, she was going to give up because of the difficulty as she gave up other instruments. However, her determination and persistence, including offering English mentorships to her friends to save money, eventually convinced her mother to help her acquire a full drum kit. This experience inspired her to affiliate with the *Hi Hat* drum workshop, where she teaches young women and girls how to play the drums, aiming to make it more accessible for them.

Returning to the subject of the first musical influence, Clarissa Carvalho also always had rock music as a first influence for her. When she told her parents she wanted to learn how to play the electric guitar, her parents were firm supporters:

(...) my parents are rockers, so, like, I always had this contact with music. (...) the electric guitar was my father's dream, he always wanted to learn how to play the guitar but never did. So, he projected his dream onto me, right? "I'm going to pay for your classes, I'm going to buy you an electric guitar..." (Carvalho 2021)<sup>118</sup>

Clarissa Carvalho started to learn how to play the guitar at 13 years old and soon she joined a band with a group of friends. Not different from the other participants, she learned how to play the drums out of curiosity. She started to get interested in it when she first listened to the

meus amigos eram bem ruins... ahahaha eu comecei a dar aulinhas de inglês pra eles... e fui juntando uma grana, pra pagar minhas aulas experimentais e minha bateria.

Então quando consegui uma parte da batera, minha mãe ficou com peninha e inteirou pra mim! Daí depois eu nunca mais parei."

118. Original: "meus pais são roqueiros. Então, assim, por um lado eu sempre tive contato com a música. (...) guitarra que era o sonho do meu pai, ele sempre quis aprender guitarra, mas nunca aprendeu. Aí ele projetou todo sonho em mim, né. 'Aí eu vou te pagar aula, eu vou comprar guitarra sim..."

metal Brazilian band Sepultura – the drummer Igor Cavalera was her first influence when it comes to drumming. Seeing her interest, her drummer bandmate, and friend, asked if she wanted to learn some basic beats. After that, she recalls, it was an instant interest:

Man, I took it really quickly, like, in every band rehearsal we rehearse the songs and when it was done, [I would ask:] "Can I play the drums now?" And I started to get carried away, "Can I try the double pedal? Can I try to do the same pedal as Igor [Cavalera]?" (Carvalho 2021)<sup>119</sup>

Seeing her interest – and negotiating the change of house, which she did not accept – Clarissa Carvalho's father bought her a drum kit.

[He] bought a very cheap drum set to try and convince me to go to this house that I didn't want. (...) and then my friend [the drummer] went away to college and left the double pedal with me and then... then I started alone, trying to work on what she had taught me. Tum-tum, tum-ta. Tum-tum-ta, tum-ta, tum-tum-ta. So, I started to try to work on the double pedal and then I got excited, right? I started to get into some metal bands like that. (...) I started to play around, I got excited on the drums, but without any band, right? Alone at home, playing. (Carvalho 2021)<sup>120</sup>

Differently from Cynthia Tsai's parents, Clarissa's did not see a problem with her playing drums – as a matter of fact, the drum was used as an exchange currency so she would accept a situation she could not really control. Important to mention that Clarissa said she would

<sup>119.</sup> Original: "Cara, eu peguei muito rápido assim, aí todos os ensaios da banda a gente ensaiava as músicas, aí acabava, [eu perguntava:] 'eu posso tocar bateria agora?' Aí comecei empolgar, 'posso tentar um pedal duplo? Aí posso tentar fazer o pedal igual do Igor [Cavalera]."

<sup>120.</sup> Original: "[Ele] comprou uma bateria bem furreca pra tentar me convencer de ir pra essa casa que eu não queria. (...) aí ela essa minha amiga foi fazer faculdade fora e deixou o pedal duplo comigo e aí... aí eu comecei sozinha, né, a tentar malhar o que ela [já] tinha me ensinado, né. Tumtá, tumta. Tumtumtá, tumtá, tumtumtá. Então comecei a tentar malhar o pedal duplo e aí empolguei assim né? Aí comecei a pegar umas bandas de metal assim. (...) Comecei a dar umas brincadas aí, nossa me empolguei na bateria, mas assim sem banda nada, né? Sozinha em casa, brincando."

take drum lessons only when she was older, the way she learned was mainly through exchanges with friends and exercising by herself.

One important aspect to note is that, for a certain period, Clarissa Carvalho was not primarily a drummer. Rather, she played guitar as a member of the band Estamira, which she was a part of for several years, from 2004 to 2013. During that time, she set aside the drums and focused solely on playing chords. However, in 2013, she became tired of playing electric guitar and decided to switch back to playing drums when she joined the band Soror. This coincided with the brief return of Estamira, which had gone on hiatus, and Clarissa resumed her position as the drummer for the band. It was during this time, as she returned to drumming, that she became interested in discovering other female drummers:

I would say it was this, with this return to the drums and with the digital stuff more accessible, then I went looking for real. Women as influences, you know? And then [I started] to give more attention to the women musicians from here [Brazil]. So, Ariadne [Souza], 121 Nathalia [Reinehr]... 122 I remember that at that time, my friend who taught me to play a little rock beat [on the drums], who lend me the double pedal, I remember that she did drum lessons and she had those... Workshops, right? And [she invited] Vera Figueiredo 123 who is a super-name! (Carvalho 2021) 124

121. Ariadne Souza is a Brazilian drummer known for her work in the band Valhalla. She is one of the first female drummers of Black Metal in Brazil and now composes the band Miasthenia.

<sup>122.</sup> Nathalia Reinehr is a well-known Brazilian drummer in the rock underground scene. She is one of the tutors and advocates for the Hi Hat Girls workshops.

<sup>123.</sup> Vera Figueiredo is a reference for Brazilian drummers. She is the first professional female drummer in Brazil, the creator of the recognized *Instituto de Bateria Vera Figueiredo (Vera Figueiredo Drum Institute*), and has her work recognized by international peers. She already played in different countries, following musicians, orchestras, and as the main star of performances.

<sup>124.</sup> Original: "Eu diria que aqui foi isso com essa coisa eu voltar pra bateria e com as coisas digitais mais acessíveis aí eu fui buscar mesmo, né? Mulheres como influência, entendeu? Aí assim [eu comecei a] dar mais atenção pras musicistas daqui [do Brasil], né? Então a Ariadne [Souza], a

Clarissa Carvalho refers to the "digital stuff" as a reference to social media and how these platforms made it easier to find references and influences that might have otherwise been difficult to discover. She used these tools to educate herself on the female drummers in Brazil, both inside and outside of the rock underground scene.

In the process of searching for references in the Brazilian drumming scene, Clarissa came across *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*, created by Julie Sousa with the collaboration of other female drummers. Today, *Hi Hat* is no longer just an online magazine but also a drum workshop and podcast. These changes were brought about by Julie's recognition of the need to provide visibility to female drummers and to help women who want to play but may face limitations.

Once again, I would like to emphasize the importance of creating unconventional spaces. The limitations faced by women in playing drums are not always direct impediments. Sometimes it is a feeling, a few comments, or even a lack of representation. Cynthia Tsai, for example, mentioned that "Unfortunately, I always had male [drum] teachers, but I was lucky enough to have male teachers who respected women on drums... I have friends who were not so fortunate and had teachers who didn't take them seriously." (Tsai 2019)<sup>125</sup>

Nathalia [Reinehr]. Eu lembro que naquela época que a minha amiga que me ensinou um roquezinho né? Que me emprestou o pedal duplo, eu lembro [que] ela fazia aula de bateria, eu lembro que ela tinha aqueles... Workshops, né? Oficinas. Aí vinha aquela Vera Figueiredo né? Que é um supernome, assim."

<sup>125.</sup> Original: "Infelizmente eu sempre tive professores homens, mas eu fui sortuda o suficiente de ter professores que respeitavam mulheres na bateria... Eu tenho amigas que não tiveram tanta sorte e que tiveram professores que não as levava a sério."

According to Meghan Aube's research (2011), the lack of encouragement from role models, such as female drum teachers, can be a major obstacle in girls' pursuit of a career as drummers. This imposed limitation creates the idea of an unconventional space, which affects the female experience of music.

Another factor that limits female drummers is the lack of representation. Julie Sousa addressed this issue by creating the *Hi Hat* project, which aimed to connect and highlight the work and careers of women drummers. Julie Sousa explained to me how the idea of the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* began:

We [Mortarium] went to a metal festival and there were only Cynthia Tsai and me as drummers. Of all the bands, only two drummers weren't dudes. (...) That [event] was one of the motivations for the creation of Hi Hat. It's not possible! An event organizer cannot think it is normal that, from ten bands, only one is an all-female band. (...) But even mixed bands [were rare], only one had a female drummer. It's not possible that someone finds it normal! (Sousa 2019)<sup>126</sup>

The sense of isolation at festivals was the final drop for Julie Sousa's decision in the creation of a project that would, somehow, reunite Women drummers and showcase their careers. So, in 2012, Julie Sousa got together with a group of drummers formed by Simone del Ponte, Isabel Gabiatti, Fernanda Terra, and Michele Zingel and started to edit the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*.

The first edition of the magazine, like all subsequent editions, followed a strict editorial line. The cover features a drawn picture of a drum kit against a black and red animal

126. Original: "Nós fomos em um festival [de heavy metal] e só tinha eu e a Cynthia Tsai como bateristas. (...) Foi esse um dos motivos da criação da Hi-Hat, [porque] não é possível! Um organizar de evento não pode achar que é normal de dez bandas só ter uma banda de mulher, principalmente, mas mesmo se fosse uma banda [mista] mesmo, só ter uma banda com baterista mulher. Não é possível alguém achar isso normal!"

print background (fig. 28). The headlines introducing the content inside the edition read:

"Girls on Drums – Liege Milk – Lucy Pearlt – Hi Hat Girls Collection – Brazilian Female

Drummers." *Girls on Drums* was a drum workshop that took place that year in the southern

Brazilian state of Santa Catarina, exclusively featuring female drummers. It was the first allfemale drum festival in Brazil, and the *Hi Hat Magazine* covered the event to publicize it and the Women who participated.

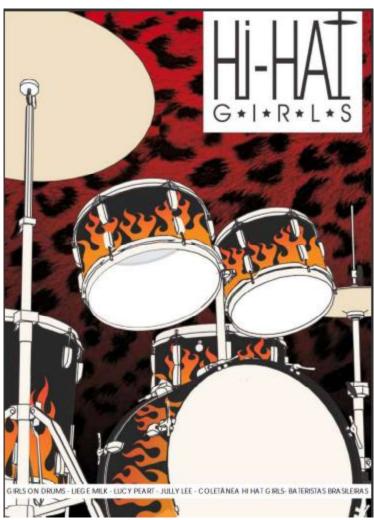


Figure 28- Cover of the first edition of Hi Hat Girls Magazine. Source: The author's archive. https://issuu.com/sunsetpress/docs/hihatfinal

In addition to covering the Girls on Drums festival, the magazine also featured interviews with drummers Liege Milk, Jully Lee, and Lucy Pearlt. To conclude the edition,

the magazine included a list of Brazilian female drummers (see fig. 29), providing their names, bands (if applicable), city of residence, and website for further information.

Additionally, there was a list called Hi Hat Girls Collection, which introduced both all-female and mixed-gender bands (see fig. 30).



Figure 29- List of Brazilian Female Drummers available on the 1st edition of Hi Hat Girls Magazine. Source: The author's archive. https://issuu.com/sunsetpress/docs/hihatfinal

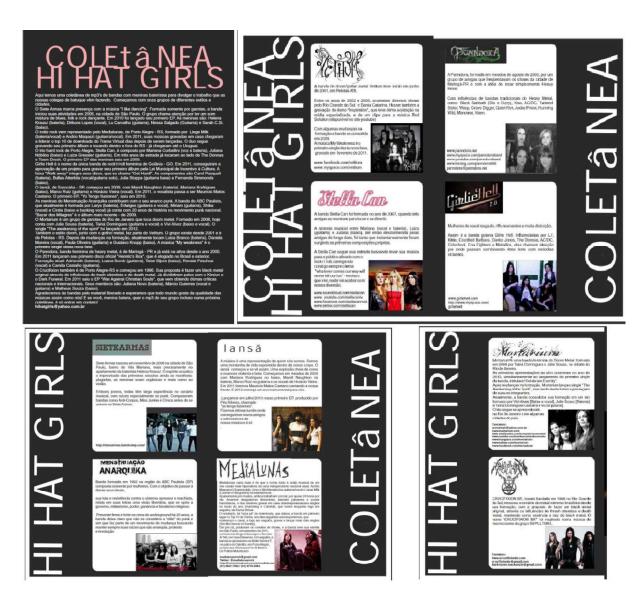


Figure 30- Band List Hi Hat Girls Collection available on the 1st edition of the Hi Hat Girls Magazine. Source: https://issuu.com/sunsetpress/docs/hihatfinal

The layout and construction of the lists in the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* exhibit a well-intentioned amateur work. According to Julie Sousa, when they decided to create and independently publish the magazine, none of them had a lot of experience with editorial work, although some had worked on zines before. The first edition has a distinct D.I.Y. feel to it, with simple images and a precariously laid-out font. The initial impression is that the organizers were passionate about the subject – Women on drums – and went ahead with the publication, despite their limited resources.

Although the written aesthetics of the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* are not associated with the confessional and intimate pattern commonly seen on Riot Grrrl zines (see Spiers 2015), the design is similar to that of zines circulating in the rock underground scene at the time. For example, the choice of colors and the contrast between pink, grey, and black were prevalent among groups of punk rock girls. This way, even if focusing on female drummers – some of them not related to the rock underground – *Hi Hat Girls Magazin* approaches DIY logic shaping rock underground scenes. This is also reinforced by Julie Sousa herself that comes from a heavy metal background and the fact that many rock underground drummers were interviewed for the project.

Another point is the value of representation and visibility in *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*. Julie emphasized the importance of promoting female drummers, stating that "The less you see women drummers, the less you see that this is a possibility of an instrument for you to play" (Sousa 2019). 127 This view is shared by other participants in this research. For instance, Clarissa Carvalho (2021) believes that visibility is essential because "what you don't see, you don't know if exists, you have no reference, right? So, man, visibility is fundamental. I won't say it's everything – this is a long discussion too – [but] visibility can create other things, right?" 128

One such creation could be a supportive environment for women to play and improve their drumming skills without having to conform to certain stereotypes. This space is created

<sup>127.</sup> Original: "Quanto menos você vê mulheres bateristas, menos você vê que aquela é uma possibilidade de instrumento pra você tocar."

<sup>128.</sup> Original: "o que você não vê, você não sabe se existe, não tem referência, né? Então, cara, visibilidade é assim, é fundamental. Não vou dizer que é tudo – essa é uma grande discussão também –, porque a visibilidade ela pode criada por outras coisas, né?"

through the recognition that female drummers inspire in others who see someone like them playing the drums. Gê Vasconcelos expressed this sentiment by saying,

(...) I feel much more motivation to seriously study when I listen to a woman playing a lot. When I see a skinny girl, with arms thinner than my own, destroying [the drums]... In theory, we know that it's independent of strength, of muscles... but to SEE this in practice generates something inside us, you know? A certainty that it is possible [to play the drums]. (Vasconcelos 2021)<sup>129</sup>

This is the motivation behind *Hi Hat Girls Magazine*: to showcase female drummers and their skills, introduce the bands they play in, and demonstrate that they are not limited to any particular music genre but perform in a range of styles from rock underground to MPB, soul, blues, jazz, and classical orchestras.

By doing so, *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* aims to create a network of information sharing that can enhance the visibility of female drummers. This is crucial because representation is still too scarce, and a dedicated platform for publicizing their talent is the best way to change this reality.

The *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* is distinct from other informational networks presented in this chapter. While other networks focus on publication, *Hi Hat* and Julie Sousa take additional steps. The project began as a publication that lasted from 2012 to 2015 before transitioning into a free workshop educational network. In 2020, to celebrate five years of workshops, Julie Sousa came up with a plan to promote the project: the *Hi Hat Girls podcast*. At the time, Julie started to get involved with podcast production and decided to put her knowledge to use.

<sup>129.</sup> Original: "(...) eu me sinto muito mais incentivada a estudar sério quando ouço uma mulher tocando pra caralho. Vejo a mina magrinha, com os bracinhos mais finos que o meu, destruindo [a bateria]... Na teoria a gente sabe que não depende de força, de músculos... Mas VER isso na prática dá um negócio dentro da gente, sabe? Uma certeza que é possível."

Her idea appeared just in time; the recordings of the *Hi Hat Girls podcast* started in 2019 and, with the pandemic break at the beginning of 2020, the episodes were released during a period of social isolation. This way, even without the workshops, *Hi Hat* still kept its activity.

The *Hi Hat Girls podcast* follows a simple interview structure and consists of five episodes featuring at least two women working in music, not necessarily drummers. The first episode featured audio technician Rebeca Montanha and sound designer Tamires Pistoresi discussing their project *Girls Audio Lab*. The second episode counts with the participation of drummers Nata de Lima and Cynthia Tsai. Nata talked about the *UMU* project and her experience as Manger Cadavre? frontwoman, and Cynthia talked about her experience with the band Little Room. The third episode featured drummer and music producer Naná Rizinni discussing her experiences in the audio industry. The fourth episode interviewed Iolly Amâncio, frontwoman of the Brazilian band Banda Gente, an activist, and music producer who works in the periphery of Rio de Janeiro. Iolly talked about her experience with music and Black activism and her work as a street performer. In the fifth and final episode, Letícia Lopes discussed daily life in the cultural space *Motim*, her experiences creating the Efusiva label, and her work as a guitarist in the band Trash No Star and as a drummer in Errática.

The *Hi Hat Girls podcast*, consequently, keeps up with the informational network that the *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* started while expanding its target – not only drummers but also cultural and music producers, sound technicians, guitarists, and so on. Through interviews with a diverse range of women who work in the music industry, the podcast offers valuable

<sup>130.</sup> The Girls Audio Lab is a project that teaches Women how to produce soundtracks and music, deal with studio materiality, and practically engage with music software. More info here: https://www.facebook.com/girlsaudiolab/.

insights into their experiences and challenges, which can inspire other female-identified people interested in pursuing music careers.

The perception of this necessity comes from women and nonbinaries that resist the idea of unusual spaces – Julie Sousa and the other drummers involved in the creation and popularization of the *Hi Hat Girls* project felt the bias imposed on them for choosing to play an instrument associated with the masculine. Hence, both the magazine and the podcast, represent a necessary and valuable network for women in the music industry going against the unusual space of drumming.

In the following chapter, I am going to discuss the final two networks analyzed in this dissertation: educational and creative networks; how they try to create spaces in which women and nonbinaries might feel more comfortable in creating, learning, and forming alliances that maintain their strength in face of a masculinist industry.

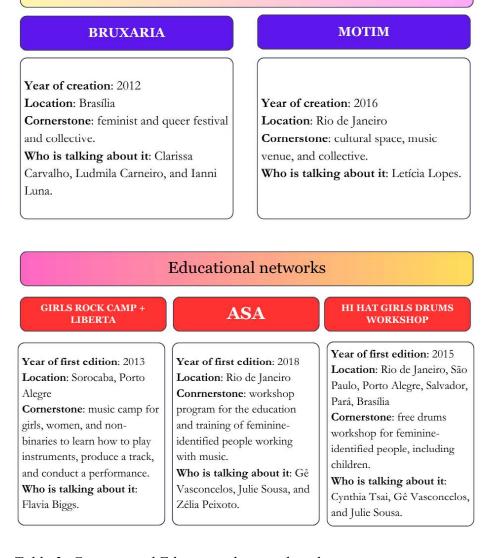
## Chapter 4 | "We resist here this way": the construction of safer spaces in music

In the last chapter, I introduced the informational and relational networks, two structures that have as a basic principle the advertising and connection of women and nonbinary people who work with rock underground. These two categories are more involved with the social media platforms and digital environment, since this is an easier way of connecting people and sharing information and, therefore, saw an increase of interactions during the COVID-19 pandemic. At the present chapter, I bring the two other categories emergent from my infield incursion and which share the same goal of offering direct action to women in music: educational and creative networks. While informational networks affect the layer of representation and relational networks aim at creating connections among female music professionals, educational and creative networks endeavor to create spaces centered on the production and construction of knowledge.

When thinking about educational and creative networks (see table 2), the concept of coalition politics in feminist activism is useful. Lyshaug (2006) understands coalition politics as an alternative way for feminist group formation in the fight against patriarchy. Coalition politics differs from other notions of feminist collaboration, such as the sisterhood, because it "emphasize[s] the relational and hierarchical nature of identities" (79). Coalition politics gets people that come from different contexts to be involved in finding common solutions to their problems, which can mean, sometimes, opening spaces for people that have more pressing matters. In other words, "Joining a coalition requires one to give up the comfort and safety of the 'home' space of one's identity group, which shelters members from conflicts and antagonism in the world outside." (80)

Educational and creative networks also work as forms of coalition politics when women and nonbinaries engage in collaboration practices to help one another. Understanding that, for the present investigation, the networks are social organizations with symbolic density

and collective self-perception (Segato 2021), the coalitions formed by educational and creative networks try to find the common ground among women who join them. These networks have the interest of women and nonbinaries as their core identities: interest for learning and occupying spaces in music, interest in a safe environment either to work or to enjoy music, and interest to get to know other people that share the same enthusiasm.



Creative networks

Table 3- Creative and Educational networks scheme.

The present chapter introduces five projects surveyed in the investigation: the collectives *Bruxaria* and *Motim*, the mentorship project *ASA*, the music camp *Girls Rock Camp* (and its adult Brazilian branch, *Liberta*), and, finally, the drum playing workshop *Hi* 

*Hat Girls*. The first two represent creative networks and the last three educational networks (table 3).

Creative networks, as the name might suggest, are spaces where women and nonbinaries can express their creativity through their performance, production, and the execution of their professional abilities. These are more difficult networks to form because they depend on online and offline presence and a firm and constant structure which demands people and money. For the public a continuous presence of organized cultural events is also important. Creative networks bring forth festivals, independent music labels, and cultural spaces which are often led by collectives, as the cases of *Motim* and *Bruxaria* illustrate.

Educational networks are those formed by projects that aim at helping women and nonbinaries to get their musical education and formation. These networks are important because they fill an existing gap in female music education, a gap which affects the interest of girls in music-making and, later, their participation in the music industry. As already discussed in the first chapter, the inclusion of women in the music industry is more difficult than that of men. Restrictions of the public space and on how to have a career or travel on tours, and the expectations of marriage, children, and the maintenance of the household are all factors that influence the predicament of a woman who wants to work as a musician. Limited access to education is a fundamental part of these restrictions.

In Brazil, for most of the ninetieth and twentieth centuries, the piano was the only instrument women could learn to play and they did so to increase the status of their families (see Bellard Freire and Portella 2010). It was also acceptable that women knew how to sing to perform in parties and family event but anything other than that was frowned upon. In such a context, is not surprising that the musical education of females was limited to what society understood as proper and, for a long time, this was still the norm. Even today, some girls find

restrictions inside their houses, from their families, on learning to play some instruments or to play at all. And it is this problem that the networks are trying to solve.

Considering these characteristics, one thing connects the creative and educational networks: the construction of spaces in which women or female-identified people feel secure to work with music and to learn about it. These spaces are responsible for the creation of a universe of possibilities for women and nonbinaries who believe they do not have a place in the process of music-making, those who feel cast out. These types of networks are directly combating the restrictions of access that surround unusual spaces for female-identifies people in music-making by going to the core of the problem. They do so by offering an environment for women and nonbinaries to show and improve their skills.

At first, I understood educational networks as safe spaces for women and nonbinary people – a concept that was highly reinforced by the Riot Grrrl movement but that had emerged earlier in the feminist movements of the 1970s. Women felt they could only share their experiences if they shield themselves from male violence and its embeddedness in patriarchal society. Riot Grrrl adopted this idea and proceeded to establish all-female events – festivals, talks, conferences, and cultural spaces. However, Marcus (2010: 282) argues: "Safe could be a slippery word, though, sometimes used to mean less 'free of danger' than 'comfortable' or 'unchallenged'—with the added intimation that anyone who dared to disagree was not just a dissenter but an attacker." And the lack of challenges, of people with diverse identities, formed by different backgrounds, might well be one of the reasons for the demise of Riot Grrrl in the beginning of the 2000s.

This is one challenge that educational networks have. Since they are spaces in which the female is the only gender – at least when it comes to the students – there is a risk of homogenization that can do more harm than help. The music business has been compared with a boy's club by many female professionals, therefore, to deliberately choose not to

interact or getting to know male counterparts might reinforce the gender segregation in the industry.

On the one hand, it is important for men to be interested in engaging in projects that offer visibility and representation and facilitate spaces of training for women and nonbinaries. On the other, men participating in these structures should be aware of the power imbalances of gender in society. Aube (2010) points out how a music teacher needs to interact differently with students depending on their gender. The same situation can be applied to the networks and the men involved with them as facilitators, mentors, or instructors. Otherwise, the risk of men taking the space and voice of women and female-identified people and increasing the perception of unusuality of spaces in music industry for these groups is a reality.

All things considered, it is understandable why the organizers of some projects are careful when selecting their collaborators – and why some organizers choose not to include men so not to limit even more the spaces in which women and nonbinaries might be interested in taking part. Still, and as I will be detailing further on this chapter, places like *Motim* and *Bruxaria* (and its festivals) manage to use male aid to create safer spaces (Hill and Megson 2020a, 2020b) in the rock underground scene of their cities for women and LGBTQI+ peoples. In addition, projects like *ASA* try to use established male connections for the benefit of female professionals in music.

4.1 Into the mosh pit: the places for resistance of women in underground nights

According to Hill, Hesmondhalgh, and Megson's (2020) investigation, small music venues in

Leeds are sites for sexual violence, predominantly against women, which has a variety of

consequences. These consequences include removing victims/survivors from the immersive

experience of the music, disrupting the sense of community in the gig audience, promoting

male dominance, and limiting gig-going activities (Hill et al. 2020: 381). Women and

LGBTQI+ individuals, who are disproportionately affected by sexual harassment, often feel excluded, insecure, and avoid attending events in these spaces, which then become uncomfortable and male-dominated. Owners of grassroots music venues and gig organizers often fail to respond to such situations, facilitating the perpetuation of sexual harassment.

To address this issue, Hill and Megson (2020b) propose the implementation of projects against sexual violence in grassroots music venues to decrease the number of incidents in these venues and, thus, create safer spaces for women and LGBTQI+ individuals. The authors classify the projects into primary interventions (preventive work), and secondary interventions (after-care). The programs primarily focus on educating men on how to identify sexual harassment situations and not to engage in violent behavior, while also protecting women who attend nightlife. Preventive measures include workshops and training programs, while after-care involves instructing nightclub staff on how to respond to sexual harassment incidents.

However, these approaches have limitations, as they focus on an individual level and do not address the systemic and organizational inequalities that enable men to commit violence. To address these issues, Hill and Megson (2020b) propose a more comprehensive process of awareness and education that involves not only men but the society as a whole. This process includes educating all staff members and music venue collaborators on sexual harassment and changing policies and politics related to women's protection. The goal is to create safer spaces where women and LGBTQI+ individuals can enjoy nightlife and contribute to the night economy without fear of violence or exclusion (Hill et al. 2020b).

In my investigation of networks focused on the inclusion of women in nightlife, I encountered several projects that had similar characteristics to the safer spaces policies mentioned by Hill and Megson, or that had the same goal and approach to specific projects.

One point important to be made is that, despite the efforts in the inclusion of a variety of people and, mainly, women (trans or cis) and nonbinary people, there is no definite guarantee that a place where most attendees are women or female-identified people is going to be effective in its safer spaces policies. It also concerns me how the participants in the interviews are talking among the issues they face when creating these apparent safe havens in the rock underground scene. All but one. In my conversation with Debby Mota (2021) she showed the grey zones in the Riot Grrrl scene she felt for being a Black and Indigenous nonbinary person.

Yes, I feel more secure [in feminist events] because it's obvious, right? We are there in an event where all of us have the same interest, right, that is talking about *machismo* and these plurals that involve *machismo*. (...) the Riot Grrrl scene is fucking [great] because [it is formed by] girls that are involved in the underground thing, feminism, lesbian... And I think is good because of that, it is a huge gap that exists from one space to another. (...) Now if in one of these spaces I already witnessed toxic situations, of course [I did]. I witnessed it already. I was excoriated by some radical feminists that believed that trans women are men in skirts. I was stalked for speaking [against the transphobic feminists], even if it it's not my place. And I, there, venting about it caused me to be harassed by one of those sisters. (Mota 2021, emphasis added)<sup>131</sup>

Hence, even feeling more secure in participating in feminist events, which is a characteristic of the Riot Grrrl scene and of the projects listed as having safer spaces policies in this

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Original: "Sim, eu me sinto mais segura, porque... Pelo óbvio, né. A gente tá ali num evento onde todas nós temos um mesmo interesse, né, que é falar sobre um machismo e esses plurais que envolvem o machismo. (...) a cena Riot Grrrl ela é muito foda! Porque são as minas que tão ali envolvidas no rolê underground, feminino, lésbico, né... E eu acho massa, justamente por isso, é uma fenda enorme que existe de um espaço pra outro. (...) Agora, se em um desses espaços eu já presenciei situações tóxicas, claro. Presenciei já. Já fui escorraçada por umas feministas radicais que acreditam que mulheres trans são homens de saia. Já fui perseguida por ter falado [contra essas mulheres], apesar de não ser o meu local de discurso. Eu ter, ali, desabafado sobre isso fez com que eu fosse perseguida por uma dessas manas aí."

investigation, Debby Mota also felt the unjust persecution of the people that did not agree with her way of thinking, radical feminists which reproduces a transphobic behavior by excluding nonbinary and trans women from their social circles. This behavior has a nomenclature: Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERFs) and, many of them do resort to their segregationist, binary, and essentialist rhetoric to make their point cross to a more conservative audience (Williams 2020, Worthen 2022).

It is not uncommon to encounter reports on TERF violence against transwomen and nonbinary people. In fact, Williams (2020) points out that the TERF violence has a rooted historical occurrence that comes from the conception that every male body is a danger to cisgender women, and it is a possible harasser. In the author's own words: "The now decades-old sex-essentialist movement continues to justify itself through a morality it constructs with a rhetoric of denaturalization and dehumanization." (730).

Such discourse oftentimes scales to violence against transgender women and their allies, such was the case with Debby Mota. Amid their defense for the inclusion of trans women in the scene, a more radical TERF started to threat Mota online, stalk them in gigs, and even at their work:

I ended up having to file charges, I had to ask for a protective measure, and in this period was a period where I also felt a little more racism in the scene, because (...) I remember some gigs where she insisted on being there and the people from the event, from the organization (...) didn't gave me any support, they left the person inside, up the stage, you know? And I was there [with a risk] of being assaulted, to be murdered! (...) Because it wasn't a person who was just a hater on the internet, it was a person who wanted to know my work schedule, it was a person who was already, you know, threatening me through the internet, it was a very difficult process for me. And it was even more difficult because it came from a woman, right? And then I saw how my life mattered less than shit there in the scene, precisely because nobody cared about me. I saw that I was just a product. I was there to sell my contents, you know, the band and

everything. Nobody cared about me as a fighting sister. Nobody cared like it says on the paper, right, "let's all go there, united and everything." (Mota 2021)<sup>132</sup>

In face of the risk, they were suffering from, with the possibility of losing their life and with fear of attending the scene they were so used to and, might I add, with people that they trusted and believed in, Mota felt the disappointment and the solitude of a nonbinary person of color in face of a danger imposed by a white woman. In the patriarchal and white centered society, the white woman that resort to violence is understood almost as a myth, even if plenty of times this misconception was proven wrong – white women can be as vicious as anyone else, and they use their apparent frailty in their benefit (Drießen 2020). By using the "white tears," white women portray themselves as victims of a patriarchal society to justify prejudicial behaviors (Phipps 2021), such as racism and transphobia, and – in cases such as the one reported by Debby Mota – to be discredited as people that can cause harm.

White feminism, therefore, has an advantage in the patriarchal white centered society and can affect other people with less privileges, including in the underground scene.

However, this was not throughout discussed by other participants, which I deemed as an

<sup>132</sup> Original: "Eu acabei tendo que fazer denúncias, tive que pedir medida protetiva, e nesse período foi um período onde eu também senti um pouco mais do racismo na cena, porque (...) Eu lembro de shows que ela fez questão de estar ali e as pessoas do evento, da organização, não me deram apoio, não me deram respaldo, deixaram a pessoa dentro do rolê, né. E eu tava ali a prova de ser agredida, de ser assassinada! (...) Porque não era uma pessoa que tava ali de hater somente da internet, era uma pessoa que já queria tá sabendo dos meus horários de trabalho, já era uma pessoa que já tava, sabe, me ameaçando pela internet, foi um processo bem difícil pra mim. E mais difícil ainda, porque veio de uma mulher também, né? E aí eu vi como a minha vida importava menos que merda ali na cena, justamente porque ninguém ligava pra mim. Eu via que ali eu era apenas um produto. Eu tava ali pra vender o meu conteúdo, né, a banda e tudo... Ninguém se importava comigo como uma irmã de luta. Ninguém se importava como tá dito no papel, né, 'vamos todo mundo ali, unidos e tudo'."

instance of silence so to not antagonize other members of the scene. Nonetheless, I believe it is important to bring this issue even if it is not something that I can respond: are the safer spaces policies enough to keep the music spaces secure to everyone?

Moving over, I am presenting two projects that occur mainly in on-site offline spaces and that have a direct impact on the nightlife economy of the rock underground scenes in Brazil. These projects are the cultural space *Motim*, located in Rio de Janeiro, and the collective and festival *Bruxaria*, located in Brasília, Brazil's federal capital.

I had visited *Motim* a couple of times before the COVID-19 pandemic, but I did not have the opportunity to see the other spaces in person, partially because they are in cities far from my home city, and partially because the pandemic hindered my efforts to visit these projects. After the pandemic, *Bruxaria* has, at the time of writing this dissertation, not resumed its activities but has announced that it will return sometime this year, in 2023 (Bruxaria session 2021).

To better understand the projects, I conducted interviews with the organizers and members of the collectives. I also present some of their online performances to complement the analysis. Being part of the rock underground scene, all three projects have a constant and solid online presence, mainly on the Instagram and Facebook platforms. Of the two, *Motim* is the only fixed space, the building it is located in is both a cultural center and an artistic occupation (according to its description in the Instagram profile). *Bruxaria* had four festival editions since 2012 and was more or less active online during the pandemic. The members of the *Bruxaria* collective engage in various musical and cultural activities, so they are all a productive presence on the scene.

## Motim

During my initial visit to *Motim* in 2017, I had no inkling that I would eventually include it in my Ph.D. research on female networks in the rock underground scene. Rather, I went out of curiosity and to gather information for the website I was working with, *Metal Ground. Motim* had been in operation for just over a year since its opening in 2016 and stayed in a building in downtown Rio de Janeiro. Despite being from another city, Niteroi, in the metropolitan region of Rio state, I had no trouble getting there. From the outside, the space looked more like a garage than a cultural center, typical of many rock underground locations. Inside, there was a zine exposition, a small merchandising space for the bands, vegan food being sold, and the main attraction of the evening, the performances of three bands – Charlote Matou um Cara, Errática, and Drugged Doll (see appendix). All three bands subscribed to the Riot Grrrl music genre, and *Motim* itself was known as a Riot Grrrl site in Rio de Janeiro.

As an attendee and not a researcher, my first impression of *Motim* was that it felt secure, even with the dim lighting, small space, and the number of people attending. The space was smaller than other rock underground nightclubs I was accustomed to in Rio de Janeiro. In fact, it was too small; during my second visit later that year, I did not have the courage to stay for the whole event due to the crowds and the heat. The space had a Do-It-Yourself (DIY) feel, with a makeshift stage on the ground level (as seen in fig. 31), where the drums were set up on a carpet. The public stood a little farther back from the musicians to enjoy the performance around the 'stage.' In the pictures shared on *Motim's* Instagram profile, we can see that during performances, people also sit on the ground to watch.



Figure 31- Charlote Matou um Cara's gig at old Motim location. Source:

https://www.instagram.com/p/Bb8AapnhxjE/?hl=pt

In order to gain insight into the motivation behind the creation of *Motim*, I conducted an interview with Letícia Lopes, one of the main developers of space and a member of the collective. Lopes, who was previously introduced in chapter two, is still involved with *Motim* despite it not being her primary profession. In a WhatsApp conversation dated January 20, 2020, I asked Lopes about the impetus for creating *Motim*. She explained that it was something she felt she should do as a participant in the Rio de Janeiro rock underground scene. Lopes, along with musician and friend Amanda Flores, rented the space located at Rua Julia Lopes de Almeida 10, which was the same location I visited in 2017. Lopes elaborated:

Before opening up *Motim*, Amanda and I already played with our bands, right, and we produced as well. We received a lot of complaints about everyplace, about some studios, some venues in Rio de Janeiro, [from] the public and artists... They did not feel comfortable, they did not feel welcome. Artists not being respected by sound technicians, by the owner of the venues. And the public as well! (...) If a person denounced some artists that played in some venue, if a person (...) denounced some sort of harassment that they had suffered, usually the response of the owner of the venue – and this was 2015, 2014, right – was to silence the [accusation], not taking it seriously. So, our bid when opening was, really, subverted all of this, right? To offer a new idea of artmaking. Since we are artists, we thought: "so, let's open up a place in which we [can] (...) produce whatever we want, the way we want," right? Like, "how would I like to be treated when I get to a music venue? How would I like to be treated

not only as an artist but also as a [part of the] public and as a producer?" (Lopes 2020a, emphasis added)<sup>133</sup>

Based on her own experiences and those of her peers, Letícia Lopes, together with Amanda Flores, recognized the need to create an alternative space from those they were used to in the Rio de Janeiro rock underground scene. Drawing upon their empathy and knowledge acquired through producing feminist and underground events, they created a space where women and LGBTQI+ individuals could feel welcome and respected.

As Hill and Megson (2020a) observed in Leeds, in Rio de Janeiro the issue of addressing sexual harassment in grassroots rock venues is a fundamental problem. In an effort to change this reality, Letícia created through policies a safer space with the help of individuals who are able to identify harassment situations and know how to address them. The goal was not only to create a safe space for the public, but also for the artists who would perform at Motim and the producers who work to organize events. She reasoned that:

<sup>133.</sup> Original: "Antes de abrir a Motim eu e a Amanda [Flores]... a gente já tocava com as nossas bandas, né, nós temos bandas, e a gente produzia também... E a gente ouvia muita reclamação de qualquer lugar [sobre] alguns estúdios, algumas casas de show no Rio de Janeiro, [por parte] tanto de público, quanto de artistas de... Não se sentirem à vontade, de não se sentirem acolhidas, né. Artistas não se sentindo respeitadas pelos técnicos de som, pelos donos das casas. E público também! (...) Se a pessoa fosse denunciar algum artista que tocava naquela casa, se fosse denunciar (...) algum tipo de assédio que a pessoa tivesse sofrendo, geralmente a postura dos donos das casas, na época, isso em 2015, 2014, né... Era de silenciar essa denúncia, de não levar a sério... Então nossa proposta, quando a gente abriu, era na verdade... Subverter tudo isso, né. Oferecer uma nova proposta do fazer artístico, né. Como nós somos artistas a gente pensou 'poxa, vamo abrir um lugar onde a gente [possa] (...) produzir qualquer coisa da forma como a gente queria, 'né. Tipo, 'como eu gostaria de ser tratada quando eu chegasse numa casa de show? Como eu gostaria de ser tratada não só como artista, mas também como público e como produtora?"

Our proposal is to make a cultural center to harbor different languages, music festivals, band rehearsals, art exhibitions... Have space to offer workshops as well but in a more horizontal way, right? Based always on the dialogue in a way that we don't explore the workforce from other [people] and manage to also offer visibility to the male artist, the female artist, the event producer... [Motim] is not an exclusive space for women, it is a place that welcomes men as well, the artistical production of men, mix[-gendered] bands, in fact; but always with the focus, the look towards the women's well-being. (Lopes 2020a)<sup>134</sup>

The purpose of *Motim* is to establish a cultural center that promotes different forms of art, including music festivals, band rehearsals, and art exhibitions. Workshops are also offered in a more collaborative manner, based on dialogue rather than a hierarchical structure. The focus is not only on women, but also falls on offering visibility to male artists and event producers. Although *Motim* is not an exclusive space for women, it is a place that prioritizes the wellbeing of women while also welcoming men and mixed-gendered bands. As stated by Letícia, "we welcome if this proposal is a democratic proposal at the bare minimum, you know? If the number of women involved in this project is a number that we consider fair" (Lopes 2020a). 135

<sup>134.</sup> Original: "A nossa proposta é fazer um centro cultural pra abrigar diversas linguagens, festivais de música, ensaios de bandas, exposição de arte... Ter um espaço para oferecer cursos também, mas de uma forma... Mais horizontal, né. Baseada sempre no diálogo, de uma forma que a gente não explore a força de trabalho do outro e consiga também dar visibilidade pro artista, pra artista, pra produtora de eventos... Não é um lugar exclusivo pra mulher, é um lugar que acolhe homens também, a produção artística de homens, de bandas mistas, na verdade, né. Mas com o foco com o olhar sempre no bem-estar da mulher."

<sup>135.</sup> Original: "a gente vai acolher se essa proposta for uma proposta que seja democrática, no mínimo democrática, sabe? Se o número de mulheres envolvidas nesse projeto for um número que a gente considere justo."

Motim has implemented strategies to create a safer space for women without excluding men from artistic and musical activities. For instance, Motim conducts a thorough review of the bands that want to use the space for performances or rehearsals, giving preference to all-female and mixed-gendered bands. All-male bands and male artists are also admitted under certain conditions. The collective filters the proposals brought up by cultural producers and decides to hold them if they are gender inclusive. The decision-making process is democratic, and the collective must reach an agreement among the seven members before opening the space for certain bands.

Letícia emphasized that being a group instead of a two-woman project has been beneficial in making decisions, as the collective comprises women of different backgrounds who have varying expectations for *Motim*. The plurality has aided in the visualization of a project that is not solely centered on music, but in which music plays a significant role. While it is not always easy to work with different people, the collective strives to solve issues democratically. As stated by Letícia, "it's supposed to be a safe space not only for women but for everybody" (Lopes 2020a).<sup>136</sup>

However, it is important to point out that there are limitations on the effect the collective can have on the public that do attend *Motim*. Although the collective applies strict safer spaces policies in its space, this alone might not be a guarantee that other types of violence – those that are not sexual harassment – might happen. In fact, the rock underground scene and its feminist branch can become unsafe for people that do not conform with certain binarism or with people of color, for example.

In 2018, more or less one year after my first attendance, *Motim* closed down because of the process of gentrification happening in downtown Rio de Janeiro that increased the rent

136. Original: "é pra ser um espaço seguro não só para mulheres, mas pra todo mundo."

233

prices in the region. Almost immediately the collective started a crowdfunding project under the hashtag 'Volta Motim' (Come back Motim) using the Brazilian online platform Vakinha.<sup>137</sup> The project was launched in June 2018 and asked for a contribution of 14.110,00 BRL (around 2.690 USD) to help with the reopening of the space. The reason why they asked for help of the public is explained on the campaign's website:

In this city, everything is expensive, everything costs, everything spends, and for MOTIM to reopen in this new feminist cultural space with diverse programming, multilingual arts, rehearsal room, bar, shop and everything else, we need your help! It is known that the processes of independent art production are precarious and, in this specific context, the team and artists that roam around MOTIM were never paid (except for event ticketing) and the label neither had any form of financing for its projects. (...) We keep counting on you to amplify and strengthen even more this amazing network! (Baroni 2018: online, original emphasis, translation by the author). <sup>138</sup>

In the introductory text for the crowdfunding campaign, the collective behind *Motim* aims to engage with the community that might help the project to launch again. By mentioning the expensiveness of Rio de Janeiro and highlighting the fact that Motim always carried out their projects in an independent and "precarious" ways, they reinforce the place of the cultural center in an underground scene, as a form of resistance against the mainstream art production business in Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>137.</sup> The crowdfunding proposal can still be accessed on the following link: https://www.vakinha.com.br/vaquinha/vakinha-da-motim (22/03/2023).

<sup>138.</sup> Original: "Nessa cidade, tudo é caro, tudo custa, tudo gasta, e pra MOTIM reabrir nesse novo espaço cultural feminista com programação diversa, multilinguagens artísticas, sala de ensaio, bar, lojinha e tudo mais, precisamos da ajuda de vocês! Sabe-se que os processos de produção das artes independentes são precários e, nesse contexto específico, a equipe e as artistas que circulam pela MOTIM nunca foram remuneradas (a não ser pela bilheteria dos eventos) e tampouco o selo teve acesso a algum tipo de financiamento para seus projetos. (...) Seguimos contando com vocês para ampliar e fortalecer ainda mais essa rede maravilhosa!"

Furthermore, the collective emphasizes the importance of the public that could help the crowdfunding campaign and includes it in their own network. Other authors already have discussed how crowdfunding strategies need to be well-thought out and efficiently played to work effectively (see Wu et al. 2022, Xu et al. 2020), and in a work I conducted previously, I demonstrated that *in locus* strategies are usually not the best approach. Instead, the person asking for crowdfunding should focus on building up the affection of their possible supporters, captivating them (Medeiros and Dias 2017). Following this logic, *Motim* included the people that might help them as part of a whole. The choice of words, "We keep counting on you" and "this amazing network," aims to bring people closer to the project as a shared enterprise that needs constant support to continue to exist.

One characteristic that emerged from the crowdfunding campaign was the increased online presence of *Motim*. Prior to its closure, the project's Instagram profile was used to promote and share photos of events. However, to maintain engagement with possible supporters of the crowdfunding campaign, *Motim* began to post more frequently on both Facebook and Instagram. These posts varied in content, including memes and internet jokes, promotion of crowdfunding rewards, videos of people retelling their experiences at *Motim* and encouraging others to participate in the crowdfunding campaign, and #tbt-labeled photos reminding people of past events at the venue.

However, this online action required some additional effort. While the deadline for the crowdfunding campaign was originally set for September 7, 2023, the collective decided to extend it until September 20. Letícia Lopes did not explain the reason for this change of dates, but Motim's social media accounts announced the extension of deadline stating that it was a response to requests from people who wanted to help but were unable to do so at the beginning of September. Ultimately, the *Volta Motim* campaign succeeded, and the project was fully funded with the support of 210 backers. This is a significant achievement,

considering that *Motim* comes from an underground rock scene with a limited number of attendees who may not have a lot of disposable income.

Motim managed to secure a larger venue in the neighborhood of Vila Isabel, located in the northern part of Rio de Janeiro. The reopening of the cultural center was scheduled for February 15, 2020. However, shortly thereafter, health emergency protocols were put in place in Rio, and the project had to close its doors once again and devise new strategies to keep in activity. Motim turned once again to online tools, this time joining the crowdfunding platform Abacashi to maintain cash inflow for paying rent at the new location. In an interview with Letícia Lopes on April 13, 2020, she elaborated on the functionality of this crowdfunding effort:

This *Acabashi* campaign is a recurrent campaign. It's going to be online while the pandemic lasts. So, the idea is that people get advanced tickets (...), electric guitar classes, bass classes... All the services that we already offered on *Motim* we continue to offer but, like, in an early entrance manner, the person buys and as soon as the quarantine is over [as soon as] we return to our activities, [the people] can enjoy the benefits, can use these services. So, this is the way we noticed it was possible [to keep going]. (Lopes 2020b, emphasis added)<sup>139</sup>

Once again, *Motim* relied on public interest and the collaborative spirit of the rock underground scene to keep its doors open. This demonstrates the potential of communal feeling within the scene but also highlights a problem with the cultural administration in the city of Rio de Janeiro. In a state with around 16.46 million people, the state's cultural policies

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<sup>139.</sup> Original: "Essa campanha do Abacashi é uma campanha recorrente. Ela vai ficar online enquanto durar a quarentena. Então a ideia é as pessoas adquirirem ingresso antecipado (...) aula de guitarra aula de baixo, todos os serviços que a gente já oferecia na Motim a gente continua oferecendo só que tipo o antecipado [para] pessoa compra[r] assim que acabar a quarentena, que a gente puder retomar as suas atividades elas vão poder gozar dos beneficios, utilizar esses serviços. Então foi uma maneira que a gente percebeu que era possível de fazer [para continuar]."

do not reach many of the smaller projects in the region. To overcome this situation, *Motim* had to appeal to public collaboration, particularly during the pandemic, when events and gatherings, which were the project's main sources of income, had to be interrupted.

To increase the visibility of the crowdfunding campaign, *Motim*, like many other projects, once again increased its online presence by hosting live discussions about gender diversity in music, anti-racism practices, motherhood during the pandemic, and the broadcast of bands and artist performances. These online activities, broadcasted on Instagram and Facebook, led to a shift in *Motim's* creative network, which was no longer limited to the physical space but also expanded to the online space. In that sense, the creative network functioned as an informational network as well, promoting the work of feminist activists, artists, and bands from the Brazilian rock underground, although the focus and connections remained related to the project.

After a period of quarantine and social isolation demands, *Motim* reopened its doors to specific activities, including a small fair held once a week to support artists and vendors. The fair had a limited number of attendees who were required to adhere to social distancing measures and wear masks. Additionally, *Motim* rented out rooms to tattoo artists and individuals seeking to use the space as a co-working area. Over time, the collective expanded its services to include hosting online sessions for bands using the equipment available at the center. Most bands that conducted sessions at *Motim* were affiliated with the Efusiva label, which is linked to the collective.

This demonstrates the continued resilience of the creative network, which was reinforced even during the pandemic. Despite the uncertainty of the time of the return, the existence of a physical space for *Motim* made it easier to maintain operations and adapt to challenging circumstances. In contrast, projects that lack a fixed space or public, such as festivals, face greater difficulties.

## Bruxaria fest

Bruxaria is a collective from Brasília responsible for organizing the festival with the same name and a series of gigs titled 'Poções' (Potions). To better understand the functionality and principles of Bruxaria, I talked with three members of the collective, Clarissa Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, and Ianni Luna (fig. 32), whom I already introduced in the second chapter. The collective has eight women as members who are participants in the rock underground scene of Brasília, but I only managed to meet three of them due to schedule incompatibilities. The three participants agreed to talk with me via the online meeting platform Zoom on February 25, 2021.



Figure 32- From up down, left to right: Clarissa Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, and Ianni Luna. The last picture is the Bruxaria collective in the 2018 festival edition. Source: Clarissa Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, Ianni Luna. https://www.instagram.com/p/BiuvDMKnqfl

Bruxaria is a community-oriented project constructed through and by the experience of the women behind it; the creators' perception of the existing need of a queer-friendly festival that had women as producers and makers. This way, their bands would have a place to play and their friends who are artists, a place to expose their work. Louise Barrière (2019) observes that community and politics are central to queer-feminist punk festivals. The same is true for Bruxaria since its beginnings in 2012, when Ianni and other girls of the underground scene in Brasília decided to create an event that would welcome women and nonbinary people into the music industry while also empowering them. Ianni explained that their idea of creating a feminist rock underground event became stronger after attending an event named Vulva la Vida. She recalls:

Ianni Luna: I remember that at this time, there were a lot of underground events, let's put it this way, in Brazil, right? (...) There was a very rich scene with bands, punk and metal bands... And we exchanged many ideas; it was a very active scene with workshops. We taught ourselves a lot of things, a lot of do-it-yourself stuff. (...) And we [the first members of the collective] have known each other for many years from Brasília shows, right? Since forever we went to shows there. Brasília was a city that had a lot of cool gigs, a city with a very lively scene for many years, since the 80s, then the 90s... (Bruxaria session 2021)<sup>140</sup>

*Vulva La Vida* was a feminist DIY festival that took place in the city of Salvador in the years 2011, 2012, and 2013. Its structure revolved around debates, roundtables, workshops, and rock concerts. Inspired by this event, the environment of the city they were living in, and the

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<sup>140.</sup> Original: "Eu lembro que nessa época tinham muitos eventos underground, digamos assim, no Brasil, né? (...) tinha uma cena bem rica de bandas e tal, de bandas punks, de metal e a galera... a gente trocava muita ideia, era uma cena muito ativa de oficinas, a gente se ensinava muita coisa, muita coisa faça você mesma. (...) E a gente já se conhecia há muitos anos de Brasília dos shows, né. Desde sempre a gente foi pros shows. Brasília era uma cidade que tinha muitos shows bacanas, uma cidade que tinha uma cena bem viva já há muitos anos, desde os anos 80, depois doas anos 90..."

music scene they were a part of, Ianni and other women decided to create their own festival.

Thinking about how they could contribute to the rock underground scene and support the women and nonbinary people within, they decided to create a festival with thematic workshops:

Ianni Luna: I recall that when we returned from *Vulva La Vida*, we had this desire to bring these people [from the festival] and I remember one person that we invited was Vanessa [de Michelis] to bring this workshop on stage set-up. (...) We all played, but [we wanted] this knowledge of equipment, of how we could do a gig alone, right? How could we rent the equipment and how do we set up a stage? How do we turn on a guitar? How do we assemble a sound desk? These were things far away from us than just the bands because we were always composing and producing, but this part of gig organization – in my perspective from what I recall – was too much in the hands of certain people that were the dudes. (Bruxaria session 2021, emphasis added)<sup>141</sup>

In its first edition, *Bruxaria* already demonstrated its politics around the safer spaces for women. Although this event was female-only attendance, masculine participation was on a more technical level – which contributed to the frustration of the organizers. In the next editions, the participation of men in the audience was welcomed and they even got the opportunity to work in specific parts of the festivals. This first one, however, was focused solely on female knowledge and had a space for all-female bands (the first edition of the festival had for the lineup feminist all-female rock underground bands Dança da Vingança,

<sup>141.</sup> Original: "E eu lembro de quando a gente voltou do Vulva La Vida a gente tava com essa vontade de fazer, de trazer essas pessoas e eu lembro que uma das pessoas que a gente convidou foi a Vanessa pra fazer essa oficina de montagem de palco (...) A gente já tocava, mas o conhecimento dos equipamentos. De como a gente poderia fazer sozinha um show, né? Como é que a gente alugaria os equipamentos e como que a gente monta esse palco? Como é que a gente liga a guitarra? Como é que a gente monta a mesa de som? Eram coisas assim mais distantes do que só as bandas, né, porque a gente sempre tava compondo e produzindo, mas essa parte de organizar os shows, na minha visão que eu lembro, ela tava muito ainda na mão de determinadas pessoas que eram os caras."

Soror, and Estamira). With activities such as rounds of conversations, the stage set-up workshop by Vanessa de Michelis, and a movie session, *Bruxaria* I was a safe space for women to enjoy music, learn a new skill, and promote conversations.

The *Bruxaria* collective was heavily influenced by feminist, queer, and lesbian events and academic movements in Brasília and other cities, including the *Vulva La Vida* event. The group was primarily concerned with providing a safe space for women in a feminist event. Consequently, they made the decision to change the event location when the owner of the original venue was accused of harassment. This situation brought together the women involved in the *Bruxaria* festival, including members and non-members of the collective alike. In the following interaction, Clarissa and Ludmila described an incident that occurred during the first *Bruxaria* festival.

Clarissa Carvalho: They [*Bruxaria* organizers] invited Estamira to play at the first *Bruxaria* so we were not part of the collective yet – Ludmila, Sara [Abreu, guitarist of Estamira and current member of the collective], and me. We were invited to play and something cool happened. There was… In the last minute there was a change of places, it was not supposed to be in Planatina initially, it was to be at… Someplace else, I don't think it matters now…

*(...)* 

Ludmila Carneiro: It matters!

Clarissa Carvalho: It's true, it matters because of the motive.

Ludmila Carneiro: Because the dude there [the owner of the previous location] had been accused of harassment and so we said, "We can't do [the festival] on this place!" Clarissa Carvalho: They said it, right? Because you and I were not in that place yet [of making decisions]. We were not yet part of the collective and, in fact, it was because of this that we joined. And what is interesting is that the place changed at the last minute (...) and so you see the do-it-yourself proposal there [fighting] tooth and nail, right? The girls told [us], "Look, the gig is – I don't know – tomorrow and we have the equipment but many of us do not have a car, we need help." So, they asked for the bands' help to take and assemble [the equipment], which was not the initial agreement, at first, we just needed to come and play. I said, "I have a car, let's go!" And that's how it started. (Bruxaria session 2021)<sup>142</sup>

142. Original: "Clarisse Carvalho: Elas chamaram a Estamira pra tocar no primeiro Bruxaria, então a gente não fazia parte da coletiva eu e Ludmila e nem Sara. A gente foi chamada pra tocar e aí olha

The decision to move places came with a consequence – instead of a more central venue, *Bruxaria* I had to occur in a satellite city far away from the center of Brasília. Planatina is almost 40 kilometers from the center, and it is difficult to access it without a private car. However, the women of the collective did not want to compromise the integrity of the event by holding it at a venue owned by someone who represented a risk to women and LGBTQI+. The sudden change in venue was communicated to participants, and while many were unable to attend, the event was still held with a smaller-than-expected attendance, and it was free of charge.

The second edition of the *Bruxaria* festival took place five years after the first and was better organized, thanks in part to the involvement of Clarissa Carvalho, Ludmila Carneiro, and Sara Abreu, who had previous experience on organizing festivals and cultural

que legal o que rolou. Teve uma... De última hora teve uma mudança de lugar, não seria em Planaltina inicialmente, seria no... Em algum outro lugar, acho que não importa agora.

*(...)* 

Ludmila Carneiro: Importa!

Clarisse Carvalho: É verdade, importa por causa do motivo.

Ludmila Carneiro: Porque o cara tinha sido acusado de assédio e aí falamos 'Nós não podemos fazer nesse lugar'.

Clarissa Carvalho: Elas falaram, né, porque eu e você, a gente não tava ainda nesse lugar. Não távamos, né, mas verdade, foi por conta disso. E aí o que que é interessante, mudou o local de última hora (...) e aí é que você vê a proposta do faça você mesma ali na unha né, que as meninas falaram 'ó, o show é, sei lá, é amanhã, a gente conseguiu equipamento, mas assim, muitas de nós não tem carro, a gente precisa de [ajuda]'. Aí elas chamaram ajuda das bandas pra levar e montar o que não tava né, em princípio só ia chegar e tocar. E eu falei 'Não, tenho carro, bora'. E foi assim que começou."

events (Bruxaria session 2021). According to Ludmila, the second festival had 400 paying attendees, with additional non-paying attendees such as band members and volunteers (Bruxaria session 2021).

One key factor in the success of *Bruxaria II* was its location. Unlike the first edition, which took place in a district far from the center of Brasília, the second festival was held at a venue near the main bus station, making it accessible to people from all over the federal district. Another important factor was the variety of attractions and bands, including Estamira, Soror, Pollyanna is Dead (a punk band from Brasília), and five DJs. The festival also featured a larger fairground (fig. 33) where female artists, artisans, and zine makers could showcase their work and sell their products. Additionally, the festival hosted workshops on stage setup and music production, as well as a roundtable discussion on music and women.



Figure 33- Fairground at Bruxaria II. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/BgT7bldAIJW/.

To stay true to its "punk, anarchist, feminist heritage", as claimed by Ianni Luna (Bruxaria session 2021), <sup>143</sup> *Bruxaria II* had a free entrance time slot. The promotional flyer for the festival included admission rates of "Zero BRL until 18h, 10 BRL until 20h, and 20 BRL after 20h" (see fig. 34).



Figure 34- Bruxaria II promotional flyer. Source:

https://www.facebook.com/festbruxaria/photos/157892721537620.

The price variation policy of *Bruxaria* aims to promote inclusivity and attract diverse groups of people to the event, not just those who can afford to pay. The festival's goal is to

244

<sup>143.</sup> Original: "herança punk, anarquista, feminista."

showcase the diversity that characterizes Brasília's rock underground scene. Ludmila Carneiro explained in the interview that many people from the scene live in the satellite cities surrounding Brasília, where the low-income individuals reside (Bruxaria session 2021).

The promotional flyer for *Bruxaria* provides valuable insight into the collective's aesthetic choices of how they represent their identity. *Bruxaria*, which translates as Witchcraft, draws on elements of the occult to empower women, and promote sisterhood as a collaborative association, while nodding to the bond between supernatural power, mysticism, and rock underground music, especially heavy metal. The event's name and imagery were carefully chosen. The contemporary representation of witches as female power figures differs from the historical context that demonized them. Popular culture has helped to construct witches as representatives of feminine power, making it part of feminist narratives (Sollée 2019).

The association of witchcraft and feminine power is highly political. The Christian church created the image of the witch as an evil creature as a means of establishing a system in which men held power over women (Federici 2014). Silvia Federici argues that the hunt for witches was not only a means of dominating and domesticating women's bodies but also a crucial factor in the process of primitive capital accumulation of labor that laid the foundation for capitalism. The shift in views around feminism and witches has led feminist groups to see witches as representatives of female power and knowledge (Sollée 2019). *Bruxaria* promotes this portrayal by providing space for zine producers, band's merchandise, small-scale artisans, and mystic practitioners such as tarot readers, herbalists, and astrologers during the festival's planning.

The occult is often associated with subgenres of rock music, particularly heavy metal, and is regarded as a fundamental aspect of their identity (Granholm 2011). *Bruxaria* also utilizes the occult narrative as part of its identity, attracting a diverse audience of feminists,

anarchists, and individuals interested in spirituality and nature, as evidenced by their visual identity, target audience, attractions, stalls, and bands. To engage with this audience, the collective recognizes the need for specific conduct and conversations, as illustrated in the following exchange:

Clarissa Carvalho: What I think is cool is that when you look from the outside, it's not only the [public of] the underground, punk, or metal shows. The public of *Bruxaria* is very special, it's a feminist public, in general. Not only women, not only those who identify as women, but also people who don't identify [with any gender] (...), men too, and then we get the underground crowd, the rock crowd, not all of them, but it's that intersection, you know? People who are in the underground but are also super feminist, anarchist, punk. (...)

Ianni Luna: And the witches! The mystical people come, the people who are interested in these things, let's say, with (...) the ephemeral. So, this is also something we brought to dialogue with, (...) the anti-Christianity – that already existed in metal, in rock –, but with the perspective of how to think this from the point of view of nature, of the relationship with nature. That's why there's this aspect that Clarissa mentioned of thinking about the impact that this has on society, but also on the environment in general. And what relationship we can have with the world, with the universe of tangible and intangible things. So, there were a lot of people interested in it, tarot, card reading, thinking about these spiritual things. (...)

Clarissa Carvalho: And just complementing, we have this super heterogenous group, right? In *Bruxaria* it has to do also with the attractions. So, this is it, the artisan girls, the card readers, they will invite their public that is a public that does not attend the gig. The bands will invite the rocker public. (...) for the workshop of music production there was the girl that organizes the carnival here [presenting], so she invites the public that usually goes to carnival. (...) There was also a workshop on bike maintenance, so the people [interested in] bikes sometimes is not from rock. (Bruxaria session 2021, emphasis added)<sup>144</sup>

144. Original: "Clarissa Carvalho: O que eu acho legal é que quando você olha pro lado não é o público dos showzinhos underground de punk, dos showzinhos de metal. O público da Bruxaria ele é muito específico, muito especial, é um público feminista, no geral né. Não só mulheres, né, não só quem se identifica como mulher, mas pessoas que também não se identificam [com nenhum gênero] (...), homens também e aí junta mais a galera mais do underground, do rock, não todos, mas é aquele recorte a intercessão, né, quem tá no underground, mas também super feminista, anarquista, punk. (...)

Ianni Luna: E as bruxas! Vem a galera mística, vem a galera que se interessa por essas coisas, essas relações, digamos, com (...) o imponderável, então isso também é uma coisa que a gente trazia em

To trigger the witchcraft imaginary is, therefore, also a way of diversifying the public of the event. When Ianni mentions the people that deal with the "tangible and the intangible," she is making a case for this apparent contrast in the community *Bruxaria* is creating that is not necessarily connected with the music and that worries with the problems of the world. This answer is reinforced by Clarissa, who points out how "heterogeneous" the public of *Bruxaria* is – it is a diverse community inside the already alternative underground scene of Brasília.

The festival's audience is not limited to those interested in music or members of the rock underground scene, but includes a broader community drawn to the occult, feminist, and alternative qualities. *Bruxaria* attracts a politically minded and feminist audience seeking the mystical aspects of the festival, particularly workshops that offer alternative spaces for individuals looking to fit in. Moreover, the festival is part of a larger movement in Brazil: the interest in the occult. Latin American feminists view the occult, and its associated symbols, as a means of anti-patriarchal resistance. This is influenced by the popularity of books on

diálogo, obviamente com, sei lá, o anticristianismo que já era do metal, já era do rock, mas com a perspectiva de como pensar isso do ponto de vista da natureza, da relação com a natureza. Por isso que tem sempre uma pegada disso que a Cla te falou de pensar o impacto que isso tem na sociedade, mas também na parte do meio ambiente em geral, né. E qual a relação que a gente pode ter com o mundo em geral com o universo das coisas palpáveis e impalpáveis. Então tinha muita gente interessada com isso, com tarot, com ler carta, com pensar essas questões espirituais. (...)

Clarissa Carvalho: Só complementando, só complementando esse público super heterogêneo, né, diverso, né, que tem na Bruxaria tem a ver também com as atrações. Então é isso, as minas artesãs, a taróloga, ela vai chamar o público dela que é o público que não tá no show. As bandas vão chamar o público roqueiro. (...) pra oficina de produção musical vem a mina que era do balaio, que faz carnaval aqui, então ela chama o público que geralmente vai pro carnaval. (...) Teve uma oficina também de manutenção de bike, então tem o povo da bike que às vezes não é do rock."

feminist politics, witchcraft, and self-discovery and the emergence of feminist collectives that incorporate the occult. The collective Sycorax is one example of this movement; it has translated Silvia Federici's books, *Caliban and the Witch*, *Revolution at Point Zero*, and *Reenchanting the World*, into Brazilian Portuguese and promotes discussions on gender and feminist studies, particularly the history of witchcraft and the persecution of women. The association of female power with the control of the occult in Brazil is influenced by European cultural influences, with a postcolonial shift that valorizes Afro-Brazilian religions. *Bruxaria* stands out by incorporating heavy metal ideologies into its occult practices, reflecting the reality of its members.

To foster a more diverse environment and include women and nonbinary people from different backgrounds, the collective behind the *Bruxaria* festival decided to incorporate a kids' space starting from the second edition. The impetus for this decision arose from their recognition of the challenges faced by mothers in the rock underground scene, who often could not attend gigs due to the responsibilities of caring for their children. According to Clarissa Carvalho, the idea was to encourage them to attend events by offering a safe and supervised space for their children to play in while they enjoyed the festival. In her words: "we want the girls who have children to go to events (...) we'll take care of the child so you can enjoy the fair, enjoy the performances" (Bruxaria session 2021). 145

This initiative represents a significant departure from traditional gender roles. The organizers made a conscious effort to include female professionals in every aspect of the festival organization, from backstage to center stage. However, they deliberately chose to invite men to volunteer in the kids' space. As Ludmila Carneiro pointed out, "it was the only

145. Original: "a gente quer que as minas que tenham filhos não deixem de ir pros rolês, cara. (...) a gente vai cuidar da criança pra você poder curtir a feirinha, curtir os shows, né."

place that we had men working" (Bruxaria session 2021). <sup>146</sup> By doing so, they try to challenge the stereotype of women as the primary caregivers and demonstrated that men can also contribute to childcare and entertainment.

It is worth noting that the selection process for volunteers in the kids' space followed the same criteria as in other areas of the festival, but then, with the preference given to men rather than women. This reinforces the organizers' commitment to creating an inclusive and equitable environment that promotes diversity while challenging gender stereotypes. The men working on the kids' space and most women working with the event were volunteers, something important to make the event happen. Although this might feel like a binary response to a binary world, I understand it as an effort of gender subversions by shifting the expected places in which men and women are to occupy.

Since the organization does not have the funds to pay for the workforce, they counted on the collaboration of people interested in working at the festival without receiving money back.

Clarissa Carvalho: This thing with the volunteers is important to mention because the festival grew, and there's a lot to do on the day of the event, right. So, the collective, at the time, had eight people (...) but the food was our responsibility, so, like, three were working completely with the food [station] (...) Ianni and Sara were with the workshops, one was [always] at sound production. So, they needed to take care of the sound on the day! [When] we moved to a bigger space we had to, unfortunately, hire a [male] sound technician. It was the only [hired position] with a man. We discovered a girl now that also does this work, so maybe in the next [editions]. And for the booking and other [positions] we needed volunteers to help, and so we thought of inviting girls and why can't the guys stay at the kids' space? That place in which they are never put in society. And so, we [talked with] some friends, right, to take turns. The volunteers worked, worked, or better put, contributed to making the festival happen. And every two hours the volunteers changed turns. A lot of people became part of the collective this way. (Bruxaria session 2021)<sup>147</sup>

146. Original: "era o único lugar com homens trabalhando."

147. Original: "Essas coisas das voluntárias, é bom pontuar também, porque como o festival cresceu tem muito o que fazer ali no dia, né. E assim a coletiva eu acho que na época tava com oito pessoas

The organizers relied on the collaboration of the volunteers to handle less technical activities that could be rotated. This included support positions such as ticket booking at the entrance of the event, cashier, food distribution at the food stand, assistance with organizing workshops and roundtable conversations, and the kids' space. Members of the collective work as volunteers as well and do not receive payment. All volunteers, except those in the kids' space, are female, which highlights the creation of alternative spaces based on gender. While the unusual spaces for women, such as production, setting, and organization, are filled by them, the care and attention to children is open for men to volunteer.

The concern of *Bruxaria* collective in including mothers who cannot afford to leave their children at home is a different stance from the usual rock underground scenario in Brazil – a problem that has a cultural and societal context to it. Instead, they see the inclusion of mothers as a way to improve female's experiences as a whole. According to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, in 2010, 12 million Women in the country were raising their children without the help of a partner or spouse. This is also an intersectional problem; out of these 12 million women, 64% live below the poverty line and 61% are Black. Many

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<sup>(...)</sup> O rango era nosso, então assim, três ficaram completamente pro rango (...) Ianni e Sara ficaram com as oficinas, uma era de produção de som, então, né, exigiu ali... Tinha [que] cuidar do som do dia! Então como foi um espaço maior, esse a gente teve que, infelizmente, contratar um técnico lá... Foi a única coisa que era homem ali. Mas parece que a gente descobriu que tem uma mina aqui também fazendo o som, quem sabe pros próximos, né, pra show. E aí umas na bilheteria, e tal e tal, então a gente precisava de voluntárias até pra ficar ali ajudando no caixa do rango e tal e aí a gente pensou, vamos chamar as minas e por que não os caras ficarem no espaço kids, né? Aquele lugar que nunca é colocado pra eles na sociedade. E com certeza conseguimos alguns amigos, né, a gente fazia turnos. A voluntária trabalhava, trabalhava entre aspas, né, contribuía, contribuía pra fazer o festival acontecer, assim, umas duas horas e aí trocava. Muita gente fez parte da coletiva assim."

single mothers in Brazil have difficulty accessing basic necessities such as food, water, housing, a good payment, and leisure time. By creating a kids' space, the *Bruxaria* collective aims to include these mothers and others who might not feel welcome attending rock concerts or cultural events with children.

By creating a place where mothers can feel welcome, *Bruxaria* proposes another way of constructing a safer space for women. They are also subverting gender roles and thinking of alternative ways for women to be in the rock underground scene. Nonetheless, Clarissa told me that in the last *Bruxaria* – the fourth edition – a man had to be responsible for sound tech because they did not know any woman up for the job. Ianni Luna added that they felt bitter about the difficulty in finding female sound technicians in Brasília for the festival. Although they have found a woman who works with sound technology and that will be hired for the next edition of *Bruxaria*, this demonstrates the unequal nature of the music industry and the limitations faced by an underground collective when it comes to practical matters.

The safer space in this event is supposed to be guaranteed by the diversity of the public attending. According to Hill and Megson (2020a), spaces that are predominantly masculine and heterosexual pose a threat to the safety of women and non-gender conforming individuals. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the more gender-equal a space is, the safer it is for gender minority people. However, Louise Barrière's (2019: 72) research suggests that queer feminist festivals are not necessarily safe spaces for all marginalized groups, but rather serve as critical platforms for feminist and LGBTQI+ politics where controversial topics can be debated.

Comprehensively, the authors come from different principles when looking into the safety of space for people. While Barrière is analyzing the political structure of queer feminist festivals, Hill and Megson pay attention to the practical (and political) actions employed change grassroots rock venues that are not necessarily feminist nor queer. Even so, I still

understand how both conclusions might apply to *Bruxaria* – a feminist (and queer-friendly) event that still attracts the participation of men because of its structure and context in the rock underground scene.

To identify how the organizers of *Bruxaria* perceive diversity and inclusion among marginalized groups, I asked them if they knew how many non-white and non-middle-class people attended the event. The organizers responded that while there were more than they were used to seeing at other rock events, it still wasn't enough. Ludmila Carneiro, who worked in the cashier's office for two or three years, noted that it was easy to identify who was entering the event and that it was evident that Black people and people from the periphery of Brasília attended. She suggested that about 80% of the people who entered during the free entrance period were from the peripheric regions or were Black but acknowledged that there was no formal record of entrances. The interviewees pointed out that their interest in *Bruxaria* fest to occur in a central place of Brasília is to reach Women from different backgrounds and that they continuously search for ways to pique their interests – from the bands they invite to the non-musical spaces inside the festival.



Figure 35- Mosh pit in Bruxaria III. Source: http://bitly.ws/K6eh

Despite the organizers' efforts to attract diverse attendees, Ludmila expressed uncertainty about the festival's success in doing so without formal registration. Nonetheless, the interviewees highlighted that the festival's location in a central place in Brasília was an intentional move to counteract the city's exclusionary architecture and make the event more accessible to people from different backgrounds. The authors note that while the festival is explicitly feminist and queer-friendly, it still attracts the participation of men due to its structure and context in the rock underground scene, justifying the safer spaces policies they apply.

# 4.2 Workshops and camps: educating the future generation

Gender is not only a marker of identity but also a means of marking power differences in society. Therefore, it is crucial to examine gender as a political and historical category to comprehend the systemic dynamics of oppression and resistance (Scott 1986). This is particularly important when considering the process of music education for women. In Brazil, music education is still very much rooted in the conservative view of gender roles that shapes Brazilian society (Romero 2010). This imposes some difficulties for girls who want to learn how to play certain instruments, which is widely perceived by musicians who also act as music teachers, instructors, or mentors. A variety of factors can be detrimental to the inclusion of girls in the music universe, including the feeling of not belonging to a certain function, limitations imposed by mentors and other role model figures, lack of funds, limitations imposed by parents or legal guardians, and even self-perception based on criticism (with thoughts like 'I should not play' or 'I cannot play') grounded on historical constructions of female limitations.

During conversations with students participating in the drum workshop *Hi Hat Girls* – the project that I grew closer to – many confided in me about feeling that they did not fit into

something like drum playing. For these individuals, the act of sitting on the throne and hitting the pieces was a universe too far away from their expectations and the way they were raised. Every single woman that shared this perspective with me was already an adult, some in their early 20s, some already in their late 30s. Each of these individuals rejoiced in the possibility of learning a new skill that, until the opportunity given in a free-of-charge workshop, was unfamiliar to them.

The experience of talking with these women left me wondering about the impossibilities created for and by Brazilian women in a sexist and patriarchal society. This is the basis to think about the unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy. Instead of questioning how much was lost, I started to view with a different perspective the projects that attempt to fill the gap – and heal the wounds – in the music education of Brazilian women. From this, I started to research the networks that ended up being the educational networks, which I will introduce in the present section. Three projects will be analyzed: *Girls Rock Camp* and *Liberta*, situated in Sorocaba, a city in Sao Paulo, the *ASA program*, and the drumming workshop *Hi Hat Girls* – the latter two in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Although *Hi Hat* was already discussed in the third chapter, I am now talking about the offline experience of the project, the actual means of teaching the initial steps to play drums.

#### Girls Rock Camp and Liberta

The *Girls Rock Camp (GRC)* began in 2001 as the *Rock'n'Roll Camp for Girls* in Portland, Oregon. The camp originated as a project associated with the Riot Grrrl movement and, because of this, was initially popularly known as the *Riot Grrrl camp*. The *GRC* has since become a testament to the continued resistance of the Riot Grrrl movement, highlighting that the movement did not cease to exist in the early 2000s. In her discussion of the future of Riot Grrrl and its ongoing influence on twenty-first-century feminism, Sara Marcus (2010) notes:

Today, you can find twenty-first-century feminism online, of course, on blogs and social networking sites where teens speak their minds and connect with friends, and on the women's-issue sites of the major news-and-opinion Web magazines, where feminists of various stripes continue the all-important activities and political critique. You can find it at the many girls' rock camps, where kids form bands on a Monday and perform their songs on a Saturday, and at the affiliated "ladies' rock camps" that give women a chance to learn the instruments they always wanted to play. (...) Most important, twenty-first-century feminism is alive in everyone who made it through the horror show of adolescence with the help of Rio Grrrl's ideas about empowerment and DIY, however they came to us. It's in what we've made our lives, whether we're decades away from our teenage years or still living through them. (309)

Similar to the previous examples of *Motim* and *Bruxaria*, the *Girls Rock Camp* is influenced by the Riot Grrrl ethos of female empowerment and music training as a means of constructing a secure sense of self-worth for the participants.

Today, the original *Rock'n'Roll Camp for Girls* is part of a global union, the *Girls Rock Camp Alliance* (hereafter referred to as the *Alliance*). The *Alliance* comprises more than 90 camps in countries across all continents. Brazil has a total of three camps located in Porto Alegre, Curitiba, and Sorocaba. The Sorocaba Rock Camp was the first *GRC* established in Latin America and was founded by Flávia Biggs, the guitarist and vocalist of the band The Biggs. To gain further insight into the camp, I conducted a Zoom interview with her on June 22, 2022.

Flávia Biggs became acquainted with the *GRC* project while touring with the feminist punk band Dominatrix. The band, originally from São Paulo, did several performances in the United States in the early 2000s. Biggs became involved with the original *Rock'n'Roll Camp for Girls* in Portland, Oregon, as a volunteer and fell in love with the project. She identified with the camp's feminist activism and artistic expression and recognized the transformative power of playing an instrument and expressing oneself through music.

In 2005, inspired by her experience and the camp's ideology, Flávia Biggs began offering electric guitar workshops for girls, utilizing her expertise in the instrument so she

could offer the workshops without depending on other people's collaboration. Since the beginning, and following the directive of the Alliance, the camps have been free of charge and need other ways of earning funds to make the camps happen – which I will discuss further. In this dynamic, volunteer work is fundamental to the execution of the camps that lasts for a period of five days, once a year. Flávia told me that only in 2013 did she manage to put forward the first edition of the *GRC*. By then, she had got in touch with enough instructors – all female – who wanted to collaborate with the project; these were all women from the rock underground scene of Sao Paulo who believe in "the power of transformation within music and feminism." (Biggs 2022)

Seeing that the project is based in the US and has a variety of chapters around the world, I asked Biggs if there was some type of hierarchy the camps should follow. She answered that this is not the case with the Alliance that works more as a reference group than as a governing body:

Since there are people from different places [associated] we listen to diverse perspectives. (...) The camps are autonomous so (...) the *Girls Rock Camp Alliance* does not support [financially] other camps, it is just a place of encounter. The main function of the *Girls Rock Camp Alliance* is to conduct a conference. So, to gather... To make the camps [organizations] meet. (...) Like, there's no hierarchy or structure, or... Like, no one must ask for permission to do anything. This is it, every [camp] has their autonomy and so the Alliance helps us exchange experience. (Biggs 2022, emphasis added)<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148.</sup> Original: "Como são pessoas de diferentes lugares, a gente ouve diversas perspectivas. (...) Os camps são independentes então (...) o Girls Rock Camp Alliance não sustenta outros camps, é só um lugar de encontro. A principal função do Girls Rock Camp Alliance é a fazer a conferência. Ou seja, tipo, juntar... Fazer com que os camps se encontrem. (...) Tipo, assim, tipo não tem nenhum tipo de hierarquia ou de estruturação, ou... Tipo, ninguém tem que pedir permissão pra fazer nada, né. Então é assim, cada um tem sua autonomia e aí o Alliance ajuda a fazer com que a gente troque experiências, só isso."

The *Alliance*, therefore, is a tool to facilitate the work of camps already existing and the ones that are still to be assembled. As an example, Flávia Biggs told me how more than 10 years of experience enabled the camps organizers in Brazil to help the guidance of a process for a camp set-up in Paraguay (titled *Mitakuña Rock Camp*) that began operation in 2019 and had its first edition in 2020.

This exchange of experiences is important not only to create a sense of collectivity in diverse contexts but also to encourage the organizations in practical solutions to practical issues. One challenge faced by many camps is how to reconcile the anti-capitalist ideology of the *GRC* movement with the practical need to secure funding. As Campbell (2017) observes in her study of the Montreal *GRC*, this tension can limit the transformative potential of creating alternative communities. To address this challenge, many camps have turned to the sale of merchandise and crowdfunding to secure financial support. While financial contributions to the *Alliance* are optional, the Board established rules in 2020 to encourage members to make voluntary contributions if they can do so. These rules are:

# Five Principles of Gift Economics within the Girls Rock Camp Alliance Membership

- 1. **Sharing Resources Freely** *Modeling Generosity*: Support network and resources offered out of generosity and promoting our Points of Unity—not in exchange for a fee. No economic barriers to membership.
- 2. **Inclusive, Joyful Giving** *Invitation to Generosity*: All are invited to share resources voluntarily. Community practice of joyful generosity. Recognition that monetary contributions are one of many ways to give.
- 3. **Giving to Support Sustainability** *Inspiring Generosity*: Invitation to give to meet the operational needs of the GRCA and to strengthen our movement.
- 4. **Giving in Proportion to One's Ability** *Practicing Generosity*: Those with greater capacity (money, time, skills) are invited to give more.
- 5. **Financial Transparency** *Reflecting Generosity*: Information is shared about when and how the needs of the GRCA are met. The GRCA will share quarterly financial updates included in the Newsletters sent out to our membership organizations. (Girls Rock Camp Alliance 2020: online, original emphasis)

The Board of the project has chosen a generosity model instead of mandatory financial support or hierarchizing members based on their contributions to the *Alliance*. This approach

emphasizes the benefits and sustainability that can result from collective contribution and is grounded in the logic of support and safe spaces often seen in underground subcultures. By following these principles, the *Alliance* seeks to address the duality observed by Campbell.

According to Flávia Biggs as a member of the *Alliance* board, the organization is strongly committed to collective contribution and collaboration with its affiliated camps. She perceives no latent problems with miscommunication or differences within the large collective.

All *GRCs* follow the same structure as the original *Rock'n'Roll Camp for Girls* in Portland, which is a summer camp that runs for five days to a week and is designed for girls between the ages of 7 and 17. In Sorocaba, the camp provides an immersive experience, with campers spending a week learning the basics of musical instruments such as electric and acoustic guitar, bass, drums, and keyboard, as well as singing and participating in workshops on performance, silkscreen printing and art, music composition, zine production, personal defense, image and identity, skateboarding, graffiti art, and other activities related to the rock underground subculture. Due to limited resources, the Sorocaba camp, and all other camps in Brazil, do not provide overnight accommodation, and therefore all activities are conducted during the day.

In her research on the *GRC* in Sorocaba and Porto Alegre, Gabriela Gelain (2017) observed the project's potential for networking. The education of girls and women in a female context is crucial to foster interest in learning an instrument, forming a band, and composing music. This type of representation encourages young girls to engage in musical activities when they see adults they can identify with, such as female instrument players. Additionally, the *GRC* is vital to adult volunteers and members of the Brazilian Riot Grrrl scene, as it helps to maintain the subculture by passing on knowledge and legacies (Guerra, Bittencourt, and Gelain 2021).

Therefore, the *GRC* allows for the continuity of the Riot Grrrl movement, teaching future generations to link feminism and music. As Flávia Biggs (2021) puts it, the *GRC* provides "the possibility of expressing [oneself] through music, and to advocate also through music." To pass on this knowledge to future generations, like other camps in the *Alliance*, the *GRC* Brasil also includes a category for adult women, known as the *Liberta Rock Camp* for women aged 18 and above.



Figure 36- Liberta Rock Camp and Gils Rock Camp, aesthetic differences. Source: https://www.girlsrockcampbrasil.org/.

As seen in Sara Marcus' work, the 18+ years old music camp connected with the *GRC* was known as *Ladies Rock Camp*. In Los Angeles, the US, there is still a *Ladies Rock Camp* being developed. However, in Brazil, the camp was renamed as *Liberta* in 2020. Flávia Biggs explained the reason behind the change of the camp's name:

We developed the *Ladies* [Rock Camp], that was for adult women, since 2015. But from 2015 to 2020 a lot of things happened. Especially when it came to gender identity, the agenda of feminist movements, and the perspectives that we have about intersectionality. So, we believed that the word, the name, "Ladies," was not identifiable for us, right? Because many of us do not identify as Ladies, we decided to

<sup>149.</sup> Original: "poder se expressar através da música, e militar também através da música."

use a name that would dialogue with our propose. (...) And we arrived at the name *Liberta* and that you got to know for the first time now. And even if the *Ladies* already worked with trans [people], [dealt with] masculinities, and non-binarities as well, but there was still a discomfort, right, from trans men, for example, to take part in a *Ladies* [Rock Camp]. (Biggs 2022, emphasis added)<sup>150</sup>

Therefore, the name *Liberta* was chosen because it aligns with the camp's purpose, which is to promote freedom and inclusivity. From 2020 and beyond, the *Ladies Rock Camp* started to be called *Liberta* – which can be freely translated to Liberated – *Rock Camp*, or simply *Liberta*. The name change was an effort to be more welcoming to non-binary and transgender individuals, including trans men, who may have felt excluded by the previous name. Because of the pandemic, the *Liberta* only had the opportunity to open in 2022, and its functionality is similar to the *GRC*.

The *GRC* educational network aims to promote a diversity and plurality of identities to encourage discussions and debates on differences. However, to verify this hypothesis, further research is required on the camps. As for the *Liberta* camp, which caters to adults, the urgency of encouraging diversity is heightened due to the age of the participants. In the words of Biggs (2022): "We fight against gender oppression, so all the people suffering gender

<sup>150.</sup> Original: "Nós desenvolvemos o Ladies, que era pra mulheres adultas, desde 2015. Só que 2015 pra 2020, muita água passou por debaixo da ponte. Especialmente em relação às identidades de gênero, as pautas dos movimentos feministas e a perspectiva de que nós temos de interseccionalidade. Então a gente acredita que a palavra né, o nome 'Ladies' já não se identificava mais com a gente, né. Porque muitas de nós não se identifica como mulheres, muitas de nós não se identifica como Ladies, né, então a gente resolveu usar um nome que dialogasse mais com nossa proposta. (...) E aí chegamos no Liberta que você conheceu pela primeira vez agora. E apesar do Ladies já incluir na sua... As pessoas que a gente trabalha, trans, masculinidades e não-binariedades também é... Mas ainda assim rolava um desconforto, né, de homens trans participarem, por exemplo, participar do Ladies."

oppression must be included in our activities. At least in our intersectional perspective, [we] shouldn't hierarchize struggles."<sup>151</sup>

Considering this, *Liberta* is also a creation of a safer space based on the construction of alternative spaces. However, the policy here is since a diverse group of people attend the camp as mentees, students, or campers. The *GRC* Brasil organizers do not prioritize feminism over LGBTQI+ struggles, even including trans men, thereby making it not exclusively female or binary. The *GRC* understands that feminist issues are not exclusively female issues. In contrast, other projects like the *ASA* and *Hi Hat Girls* do not prioritize gender intersectionality as much and may approach safer spaces and the gender gap in music from a different perspective.

# Arte Sônica Amplificada – ASA

Arte Sônica Amplificada (Amplified Sonic Art), or ASA, is a program developed by the international music association Shesaid.so, the research institute Lighthouse, in partnership with the British Council in Brazil, and the Brazilian cultural center Oi Futuro. The first edition of the program took place in 2018. I became aware of ASA through my colleague Júlia de Matos, who was doing research on female orchestra conductors and participated in the program's first edition. She introduced me to Zélia Peixoto (fig. 37), the cultural producer manager of Oi Futuro and responsible for the execution of ASA. Zélia and I met face-to-face on June 26, 2019, at Oi Futuro, where she provided me with additional information about the

<sup>151.</sup> Original: "A gente luta contra a opressão de gênero. Então todas as pessoas que sofrem opressão de gênero devem ser contempladas com nossa atividade, né, pelo menos na nossa perspectiva de interseccionalidade que não tem [de] hierarquizar uma luta."

program. Due to the pandemic and subsequent editions of ASA, we were unable to meet again.



Figure 37- A selfie with Zélia Peixoto taken on June 27, 2019. Source: the author's archive

ASA has had two subsequent editions, in 2019 and 2021. Julie Sousa and Gê Vasconcelos, two participants in this investigation, participated in the first and second edition, respectively. I also spoke with them about their experiences as mentees in the program, and their perspectives also helped me with this analysis. I participated in the selection process for the third edition, which took place at the end of 2019. However, when I received confirmation of my selection, I had already moved to Germany and was no longer able to attend the offline events planned for the 2021 edition.

All three editions followed a similar structure, with a series of workshops designed to help women consider the music industry as a career possibility. The workshops covered topics such as music production, sound engineering, event production, light and stage setting, and music business, including content creation and press. The *ASA* selection committee prioritized women who were working, at some level, with music and had a desire to gain

more expertise or change careers. As Zélia Peixoto explained to me, the program aimed to attract women who work in non-traditional spaces in the music industry:

we opened the program to many areas. (...) Because you see that there are a lot of female singers, right? Now there are a lot [of them]. The other areas we don't see so much. (...) As we were talking earlier, you don't find a feminine technical staff. It's very hard and it is something we observed, how did you get there? It's always someone who referred you or something, so in this technical part there are a lot of men. (...) And you never have women in the equation. (Peixoto 2019)<sup>152</sup>

The objective of ASA is to create opportunities for women and female-identified people in the music industry to specialize and compete with men who have traditionally dominated the field by forming exclusive 'boys' clubs.' As a result, ASA seeks to address the music industry's significant gender gap, which results in the masculinization of the field. When I asked Zélia Peixoto why she believed it was difficult for women to become producers and whether she believed that references and men's mutual aid were the only reasons, she responded by saying that:

[it is] a circle, a men's circle, and there's never a woman in it and the woman ends up without trust. There's also this stigma, right, that women do not understand the technical stuff, because women are not led to learn since they are young, right? To search this curiosity about this [sound] montage, for example. (...) But there are these women in the market, [however] since the market is enclosed [by men] and the men do not trust them, they never make it in the market. They [the men] create their own networks and the women end up staying outside from it. (Peixoto 2019)

<sup>. .</sup> 

<sup>152.</sup> Original: "a gente abriu o programa pra diversas áreas (...) Porque assim, você vê que tem muita cantora, né. Cantora tem até bastante. Agora, a outra galera não tem tanto, né. (...) Como a gente estava até falando mais cedo, você não tem uma equipe técnica muita feminina, né. É difícil e é uma das coisas que a gente observou, assim, que é sempre como é que você chega lá? Sempre é quando alguém te indicou e tal, então nessa parte técnica tem muito homem (...) E você nunca tem mulheres na equação."

Peixoto's reasoning is supported not only by her personal experience as a cultural producer closely involved in music but also by her observations of other women in the industry. This is why ASA was created. According to Helen Reddington (2021), since music and technological education have historically been biased against women, this area deserves special attention if we aim to achieve gender equality. She states, "Perhaps through a formal music technology education that includes gender parity, we can embed a more enlightened set of values, and normalize a more progressive approach to the use of music technology in the professional world of music production." (162-163)

Although Reddington's comments refer to formal education, the same logic can be applied to programs such as *ASA*, where women and nonbinaries can learn about music production and marketing through lectures and workshops. They also have the opportunity to form connections with other individuals working in the music industry, establish their own networks, and create new opportunities. According to Zélia Peixoto, the most significant benefit of *ASA* is: "the construction of this community (…) so much so that you got to me because of a participant because we are doing this, this network, right?" <sup>153</sup>

After several weeks of lectures and practical workshops, participants in the program are given the opportunity to make a pitch presentation to an evaluation committee composed of individuals working in the music industry, including producers, agency and label owners, sponsors, and entrepreneurs. The participants form groups to present project ideas based on the knowledge they acquired during the lectures and workshops. If successful, their projects may be sponsored by one or more committee members.

<sup>153.</sup> Original: "a construção de uma comunidade (...) tanto que você chegou em mim por causa de uma participante, porque a gente está fazendo isso, essa rede, né?"

The first edition of the program occurred once every week in the months between October 2018 and March 2019 and attracted 50 women. Participants were divided into two categories based on their interests and areas of expertise: narratives and space. From that same edition, two projects received funding for implementation. The first, *PODSIM*, was the first podcast center entirely run by women, and the second was *Suburbia*, a festival of art from the periphery of Rio de Janeiro featuring all-female and LGBTQI+ performers and a staff composed primarily of women and nonbinary individuals that participated in the *ASA*. The festival was organized by event producer and musician Rebeca Nora.

Both projects gave centrality to the participants of the *ASA* and the things they learned on the program. Julie Sousa took part in this edition and in the pitch presentation of the *PODSIM* and went to create three podcasts: *Bora Marcar?*, in partnership with some personal friends, *Julie Reflexiva*, a personal podcast where she talks about her experience in life and as a cultural agitator, and the *Hi Hat Girls Podcast*, which was previously mentioned. Julie explained that without the program, she would not have had the confidence to produce a podcast herself. Through *ASA*, she learned how to produce audio content beyond music and to discuss music, as she did with the *Hi Hat Girls Podcast*. However, she also notes the limitations of such programs. When asked about the benefits of projects like *ASA* for women in music, she replied:

They do encourage [women to work with music], they are fundamental, but they are [also] a bit niche. Most people do not have access [to the networks] for many reasons, because they are a work of ants' [in the sense of being a little, slow work, made by few people, for the sake of a great result] really or by the existence of the fear in staying in a project that is named as feminist (not everyone knows what feminism is. Or worse, some think that it is the [desire] for the death of men or something, [laughter]). Misinformation really. (Sousa 2020)<sup>154</sup>

154. Original: "Incentivam sim [mulheres que trabalham com música], são fundamentais, mas ainda são um pouco de nicho. A grande massa não tem acesso [às redes] por motivos diversos, porque são

ações de formiguinha mesmo ou por existir um receio de estar num projeto que se intitule feminista

To her, the problem lies in the limited access to such programs for a wider audience. Projects such as *ASA* are indeed limited in number, with limited participation due to funding, space, and promotion. During my investigation, I found that many women and nonbinaries did not have access to information about the *ASA* program or its main goal of capacity building for music professionals. Although Zélia Peixoto values the program's network of references, word-of-mouth promotion can only do so much.

After its first edition, a second one was held for seven months, beginning in October 2019, and was also open to a class of 50 women. *ASA's* second edition resulted in the funding of four projects and a small documentary web series about the experience of these women during the program. One of the pivotal presences of this edition was Letícia Letrux, a musician, composer, and producer well-known in the independent music scene of Brazil for taking the lead in all her album productions following an indie/alternative genre.

Through the web series titled *Juntas na Mesma Frequência* (Together at the Same Frequency), <sup>155</sup> it is possible to see how the program's second edition offered more space to musicians working independently in the Brazilian music industry. Discussing *ASA's* potential, the participants expressed how they encountered and got to know other like-minded people who worked so close to them but felt so far away. Once again, the program seemed to be a tool for the creating and reinforcing networks for women and nonbinaries in music, encouraging them to start new projects and keep doing the work they do in a majorly masculine field.

(nem todo mundo sabe o que é feminismo ou pior, acha que é morte aos homens ou algo assim rs).

Desinformação mesmo."

<sup>155.</sup> The first episode is available in the following link: <a href="https://youtu.be/NGkJt\_AbKio">https://youtu.be/NGkJt\_AbKio</a>; and the second is available on: <a href="https://youtu.be/P\_M7Ivc\_KTE">https://youtu.be/P\_M7Ivc\_KTE</a>.

The web series also brought the perspectives from women in different contexts that composed that year's edition, especially the differences from the representatives of the international partners (Shesaid.so and Lighthouse) and the Brazilian organizers. The perception of the international partners, as expressed by Andreea Magdalina, founder of Shesaid.so, in the first episode is that "countries like Brazil" make it more difficult for independent music artists to enter the music industry and thrive in it because of the lack of infrastructure and resources. In that context, the British collaborators would engage in the role of teaching possibilities – or offering the tools and methods – so the participants could learn how to navigate through the music industry. This is a complex assumption. While projects like Shesaid.so are beneficial to increasing the number of women and femaleidentified people in the music industry, to assume a British organization would know how the Brazilian music industry works is baffling at best. To counterpoint the assumptions apparent in that brief comment, the video includes a speech made by Emily Kyriakides, the executive director of Lighthouse, in which she states that "We have a lot in common, but also a lot to teach each other" (1'38). Hence, the project tries to highlight the advantages of having people from multiple backgrounds and outside Brazil to give perspective and ideas to women and female-identified people that wish to improve their careers in music.

Nonetheless, the number of Brazilian foundations and initiatives that are interested in sponsoring programs like *ASA*, cultural centers like *Motim*, festivals like *Bruxaria*, or workshops like *Hi Hat Girls* is disappointingly low. Missions such as Shesaid so and Lighthouse have a strong and long history in aiding projects that are trying to take flight, and Zélia Peixoto was emphatic in stating how without this partnership, *ASA* would not have gotten off the paper.

The projects backed up after the second edition were:

- *Musas* (Muses), a backstage project that stimulates the hiring of women in technical and artistical level in festivals.
- *Abre Alas*, a podcast that had the goal to re-introduce the history and work of female composers from Brazil.
- *Borda*, a content producer (website, social media) that promote bands, artists, and events from the rock underground scene in Brazil.
- *Quilombass*, an international festival that would centralize Blackness in diaspora through art, entertainment, entrepreneurship, and technology.

Regrettably, the COVID-19 pandemic prevented the further development of many projects. However, *Borda* had a longer existence than other projects. Proposed by visual artist Beatriz Escobar, musician and DJ Leandra Lambert, and Gê Vasconcelos, who has a significant presence in the rock underground scene, *Borda* became *Borda Underground* and remained online throughout the pandemic under Vasconcelos' administration.

I spoke with Vasconcelos about her experience in *ASA* and its outcomes. She explained that the program's diversity was valuable in helping her construct alternative perspectives on the music industry. Furthermore, interacting with other women resulted in personal growth, a professional aspect to which she was not accustomed.

It's cool to be with other women and see their struggles (...) It's different, like, at *ASA*, for example, when you are inside an all-female network. I'm already years and years only with Gangrena [Gasosa]... I think I even absorbed a lot of things that are not okay from the masculine behavior. And I [also] got used to repeat things, right, because men never listen from the first time. So, like, sometimes I caught myself being repetitive because I'm talking a lot [but] they [*ASA's* participants] are really paying attention, you know? (Vasconcelos 2019, emphasis added)<sup>156</sup>

156. Original: "É legal tá assim com outros mulheres e ver os perrengues delas. (...) É diferente, assim, no ASA, por exemplo, quando você tá numa rede só de mulheres. Enfim, eu já tô [há] anos e anos só Gangrena, Gangrena... Eu acho até que absorvi um monte de coisa que não é legal do comportamento masculino. E eu me acostumei a repetir as coisas, né, porque os homens nunca

In a sense, Gê Vasconcelos felt that the network promoted by *ASA* and the own space in which the exchanges happen are places in which she feels safe to express herself without much cacophony. The gendered space, then, matters to the construction of ideas and work possibilities, since women and nonbinaries are not dealing with a barrier existing in the patriarchal society that distances men and women in their comprehension of each other.

Borda Underground became a translation from the things she had learned within the ASA program and Gê Vasconcelos soon created a website and Instagram page to publish content on the rock underground scene but giving a special focus to the women working there — an informational network in that sense. Unfortunately, because of some personal issues and the activities with Gangrena Gasosa, Gê saw the work piling up and had to give up on Borda Underground. The Instagram page, though, is still available with some profiles of artists and bands.

ASA program, therefore, provides an opportunity, a tool to women and nonbinaries who wish to learn and form networks. The safer spaces policy, then, is constructed by the inclusion of a diversity of women, nonbinary people and men that wish to contribute as mentors or sponsors to projects. It is an all-female program but only when it comes to the selection of participants – the idea is, therefore, to increase the number of women and female-identified people in music. However, ASA can also be a bridge to connection among genders in a way to benefit the process of equality.

The third edition – that happened from December 2021 and March 2022 – have so far not documented or published their results. The webpage with the information of the events from the *Oi Futuro* is also not available anymore, which makes me believe that the project is

ouvem a primeira vez. Então, assim, às vezes eu me pego sendo repetitiva, porque eu tô falando alguma coisa [mas] elas [as participantes do ASA] estão realmente prestando atenção. Sabe?"

269

over for the time being. Its importance, however, cannot be dismissed since many already existing projects gained something from it in an indirect manner because of the participation of the women and nonbinaries leading them in the program. This happened with *Hi Hat Girls*, the project I will introduce next.

# Hi Hat Girls, the workshop

As mentioned before, my biggest involvement during the time of investigation was with the project *Hi Hat Girls*. It was the first project I got in touch with and my exchanges with Julie Sousa, the creator, were important to enrich my view on the rock underground scene and to understand the strategies women there were employing. The fact that Julie is a cultural activist, looking for different ways to engage women in music, forming her own networks that are not limited by the music genre, was also an advantage for this research. When we first met, in 2018, I had some fixed ideas about the work Women were doing in the underground of Rio de Janeiro but though our communication, I figured the complexity of those activities and how they aimed for something bigger than representation.



Figure 38- My first time playing the drums in a Hi Hat Girls session, July 14, 2018. Picture by Julie Sousa. Source: the author's archive.

The *Hi Hat Girls* drum workshop is a safe space, a place created by a woman with the collaboration of other Women as instructors so girls and adult Women can learn an activity that was restricted to them by societal rules and expectations. In that sense, the *Hi Hat Girls* drum workshop does not attain a safer space policy as I have been discussing throughout this chapter – which does not minimize the importance of the project.

From my attendances in the workshops, I had the opportunity to get in touch with drummer mentors, and students. I was also included in the Facebook group of the project where some students post their accomplishments on the drums after their studies.

Furthermore, I conducted three official interviews with Julie Sousa (two offline, on December 12, 2018, and October 26, 2019, and one online on November 11, 2020), one interview about the project with Cynthia Tsai and Gê Vasconcelos each (they both are mentors on the project), besides brief informal conversations with the Women attending the workshops.

During the years of 2018 and 2019, I have attended eight workshops in the city of Rio de Janeiro, including one that happened on the *Women of the World (WOW)* festival and in the Suburbia festival – as a member of *ASA*, Julie Sousa was invited by Rebeca Nora to offer a class in the event.

In 2018, Julie Sousa and other contributors were trying to create a more constant number of workshops. Then, the frequency would be around one workshop every three months; they wanted the workshop to become a monthly event. One space the project would use regularly from 2016 until 2018 was *Motim* but with its closing down, Julie had to look for a new venue that would have a basic drum kit and would not charge a high price for using it. This is a frequent problem for projects such as the *Hi Hat* that do not have a fixed space to work. In addition, the organization of the project is to have a free-of-charge policy so the Women that are selected to participate in it and do not have means to afford a drum class, can

take part without problems. Thus, *Hi Hat* is fully dependent on sponsorship and the good will of the Women acting as mentors – who do not earn to teach the class for one day. Julie explained in the interview of 2018:

I remember that in 2012, when we did... When I played to the universe that [I wanted to do] the *Hi Hat* [workshop] (...) I remember that my religion was: I'm not charging. (...) Because I know it makes a lot of difference. You can charge, I don't know 5 BRL, but these 5 BRL can be a transport ticket. (...) In the workshops the girls that attend sometimes say: "You could charge to help you," they themselves say this. [I] answer: "No, man, I like what you are telling me, everything is great, but I can't charge." There are people that only have [the money] to the transport to go, there are people that don't go because they don't have [money] to go. (...) So how am I going to charge? It's impossible! We don't receive a cent; we never did online crowdfunding because of this. I think it is great for those who do it, I support, I help (...) but we do not do that because we want to reverse this logic. [I rather] take [money] from the enterprises that must support this kind [of project], than to take it from those who don't have it. (...) This is my logic. That's why I went to the Orion [Cymbals] knock on their door, "Hi! I have this project, can you help?" And as a matter of fact, we managed to gain a lot of support – not financially but we don't lack material. (Sousa  $2018)^{157}$ 

157. Original: "Eu lembro que em 2012 quando a gente fez... Quando eu joguei pro universo o lance da Hi-hat (...) eu lembro que a minha religião era: não vou cobrar. (...) Porque eu sei que faz muita diferença. Você pode cobrar, sei lá, 5 reais, mas esses 5 reais podem ter sido uma passagem. (...) Nas oficinas as meninas às vezes até falam — as meninas que participam falam —: 'Vocês poderiam cobrar pra ajudar a vocês,' elas mesmas falam. [Eu] falo 'Não cara, gostei muito do que você falou, acho tudo ótimo, mas não tem como cobrar.' Tem gente que só tem a passagem pra ir, tem gente que não vai porque não tem a passagem pra ir. (...) Aí como é que eu vou cobrar? Não tem como! A gente não recebe um centavo, nunca fizemos vaquinha online por esse mesmo motivo. Eu acho ótimo quem faz, eu apoio e ajudo (...), mas a gente não faz porque eu acho que é mais jogo inverter essa lógica. Pegar das empresas que têm e aplicar aqui, do que pegar de quem não tem! (...) A minha lógica é essa. Por isso que eu fui pra Orion bater na porta, 'Oi! Eu tenho [esse vento], você pode ajudar?' E de fato a gente conseguiu, vários apoios. Financeiro a gente não tem, mas não nos falta material também!"

Not to charge for the people participating in the workshop, then, is a policy to try and diversify the students (including those who might not afford it), encourage women female-identified people to participate despite economic limitation, keep the D.I.Y. policy by only engaging people that are interested in doing voluntary work, and taking an anti-capitalist stance when not charging the public but the enterprises that have money and that are interested in backing up projects like the *Hi Hat*.

Orion Cymbals, the partner mentioned by Julie Sousa, has been a sponsor of the *Hi Hat Girls* since day one of the workshops. It offers drumsticks, plates, and training pads so Sousa will not have to buy the material that is used during the class. In 2018, *Hi Hat* did not apply for any funding but today the project has the aid of two social programs: the *Active Citizens*, from the British Council, <sup>158</sup> and the Impulso, from the Ekloos and Oi Futuro partnership. <sup>159</sup> Both the programs were accessed by Julie Sousa after her period as a participant in the *ASA* program.

Concerns with access to the workshop do not end here. In Rio de Janeiro, a city where movement can be difficult depending on where one is and where one wants to go, the *Hi Hat* workshop always happened in places where access is easy – near bus and train stations, for instance – and in the periphery, not privileging the south zone of the city where there is a larger money concentration and where many social projects already take place. The people admitted – the selection is via raffle – can be anyone from 7 years old, which creates an

<sup>158.</sup> A training program focused on young leaders from the society that are involved in social projects. More about the program can be seen here: https://active-citizens.britishcouncil.org/.

159. The program goal is to offer support to sociocultural impact business in the cultural or artistical field and that has a presence online. Hi Hat received the Impulso notice during the pandemic when they started to conduct online workshops. More information about the notice here: https://www.ekloos.org/impulso.

interesting and plural setting for class, with older Women meeting children, all wanting to learn the drums.

The dynamics of the drum workshop is simple. The number of participants is always around 15 people, and the number of drums varies according to the availability of the mentors in bringing their own drums or the place having one at hand that can be borrowed. I have attended workshops with one and two drum sets and they are usually complete with all the basic components. Each student receives a pair of drumsticks and a practice pad (fig. 39), and Julie either distributes a flyer with basic music exercises (fig. 40) or writes the exercises on a board if the place has one.

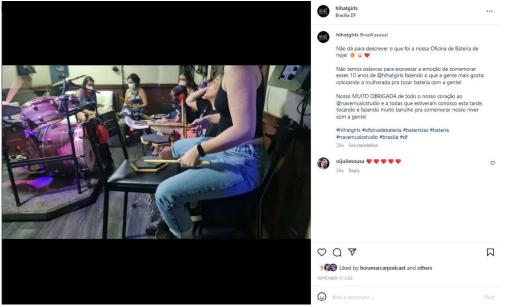


Figure 39- Training with practice pad and sticks. Hi Hat Girls Instagram post. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/Cin5EnEPLel/

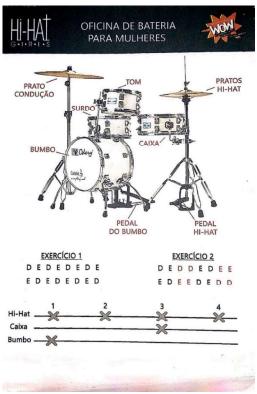


Figure 40- Flyer with exercises and name of the pieces. Source: the author's archive.

The students learn the name of the basic pieces of the drum kit: cymbal, bass drums, *surdo*, snare drum, tom, and the pedals. The inclusion of *surdo* is particularly interesting, because this instrument is often associated with Brazilian music, like samba, and not so often mentioned in other genres such as heavy metal. See, for example, the website of the brand Pearl on how the surdo is completely associated with Brazil even being "the bass voice and foundation of our Brazilian Percussion Line" (fig. 41). This is a way of *Hi Hat* state their connection with the land of its origins, even if some parts of the drums are using the international name, and the proper name of the workshop is the international one – an inheritance of the rock underground scene, because in Portuguese the hi hat percussion is also known as *chimbal*.



Figure 41- Print screen of Pearl page about surdo. Source:

https://pearldrum.com/products/percussion/brazilian/surdo

The initial lesson in the workshop instructs students on the coordination of arms and legs, with a subsequent focus on developing a sense of rhythm. The mentor instructs the group and makes a round of the room to see if everyone is following the steps. Since the room is always filled with different people, the agility of learning is different, therefore the mentor must pay attention to those that struggle most to get the initial movements. After that, the mentor instructs the students to feel free to play with the drumsticks, testing the rhythm and coordination with the sticks in the practice pad. This time is important so the students can get used to how arms should move, how to hold the stick, and how to hit properly, without using much strength. Then, it is the part when the students can sit on the throne and play a real drum. This is usually a moment of thrill for the students, many of them never had the opportunity to get even close to a drum kit, let alone play one. I asked Julie, after her experience with the workshops, why she thought so many Women felt compelled to sign up to the *Hi Hat*, considering that not many perform as drummers.

Sometimes is out of curiosity. (...) Sometimes if it was a [male] teacher (...) a dude that is a drum teacher and has a studio, if he offers free classes sometimes there would not be a significant search. Sometimes the fact that are women offering classes [is] already attractive. To be in that environment is important to sign up. Regardless of whether you already know and know if you want to be a drummer or not, sometimes not! "Oh, I'm going! [There's] a lot of girls, music... and... there are only girls, so I'm going!" You get it? (...) Because it is the environment that makes with the girls get interested, a lot of them say in the enrolment: "Look, I'm going but only out of curiosity because I never thought of doing it." (Sousa 2018)<sup>160</sup>

In fact, many of the participants with whom I have talked during the workshops said they never had the opportunity, nor the curiosity, to learn the drums. These participants usually report a sense of intimidation due to the instrument size and the noise it can produce.

However, they feel welcome to experiment with people that have the same gender as them, saying that they do not feel judged nor pressured to perform well the first time they sit on the throne.

It is known that in highly masculinized spaces or activities, the women and nonbinaries tend to form groups to survive the environment. Although hooks (2015) criticize the idea of sisterhood because of its white and bourgeois roots that focus on the nullification of the differences towards the combat against the same oppression – the author very wisely argues that not every oppression is the same if the people have different contexts – it is undeniable that many women and nonbinaries today are moving more towards an aspect of

<sup>160.</sup> Original: "Às vezes é curiosidade (...) Às vezes se fosse um professor (...) um cara que é professor de bateria e tem um estúdio, ponto. Ele oferece aulas gratuitas, ponto. Às vezes ele não teria uma procura, assim, significativa. Às vezes o fato de serem mulheres dando as aulas já... Estar naquele ambiente é importante pra se inscrever. Independente se você já conhece e sabe se quer ser baterista ou não, às vezes não! 'Ah, mas eu vô! Um monte de menina, música e... só vai ter menina... então eu vou!' 'Cê tá entendendo? (...) Porque é o ambiente que faz com que as meninas se interessem, muitas falam isso nas inscrições, 'Olha, vou mais por curiosidade, porque eu nunca me imaginei fazendo isso."'

unification. Once again, the aspect of coalition politics appears on the scene. Especially when dealing with a practice that is often considered masculine, with a low female participation, women and nonbinaries need to find a way to unite, create a mass, so they can be seen and heard. This also works with the same key as the feeling of representation and affinity – sharing the same interests with people that look like each other, at least in the most basic sense, the gender. The universe of drumming is highly masculine, therefore, women and female-identified people at the *Hi Hat drum workshop* feel more engaged to learn how to play when they seeing other women playing.

In this context, *Hi Hat* becomes a network filled with possibilities for those participants that did, or did not, wish to learn how to play the drums but for many reasons, did not manage to go to a class. This is what Julie Sousa exposes in her perception: money is not only the limiting factor for women to learn how to play the drums, the feeling of being welcomed in a space can also be crucial to this process. By creating a safe space filled with women and nonbinaries who do not know how to play the drums, *Hi Hat* encompasses this needed place of learning.

The importance of the *Hi Hat* is, therefore, to portray to girls, women, and female-identified people that they can, indeed, also learn the drums. Many of the adult students on the workshops already had experience with other instruments, the most common being the electric and acoustic guitar and piano or keyboard. Julie Sousa, Gê Vasconcelos, and Cynthia Tsai commented on this fact when also noticing that girls, from an earlier age, are not encouraged to learn how to play drums. In Vasconcelos' (2019) words: "[The drums] are different from electric guitar and bass that girls start [to study] early. I think I would've started early given the opportunity. It was this experience with the school band that got me

disinterested."<sup>161</sup> I already introduced this event narrated by Gê Vasconcelos, about how she was forbidden to play percussion in the school band by the band's teacher, and how this took her away from music-making at a young age. The discouragement for girls to access the drums is also the reason why she associated with the Hi Hat. Gê Vasconcelos believes in the project because, as a kick-start, it can turn around the experience of girls and make them even more interested in music. And Gê is clear on that: it is not only about the music, "Many girls to not play drums in the end, they go play something else" (Vasconcelos 2019). <sup>162</sup> It is, therefore, but the universe of possibilities also created by the sense that one can play anything, including the drums.

To the young girls that are having their first contact with the drums, this is also an interesting experience. I recall a workshop I attended that had two little sisters – one of 7 and the other of 9 years of age – that had been signed up by their mother, because they had received two drum kit toys as a gift. They both hit so hard and for so long, that they destroyed the toy. The mother then decided to sign up the girls to the workshop and one of them got selected in the raffle to participate. After the request made by the mother to admit the other girl, since they were sisters, Julie Sousa and Gê Vasconcelos decided on admitting the two sisters together.

The girls were really excited to play a real, adult size drum kit. Their little arms would flail about trying to follow the beat rhythm of the music that blasted from a radio (during the drum exercise, the mentor chooses a song for the students to try and follow the beat using the basic exercise they learned; the usual style of choice are beat-heavy pop and rock songs, such as "Love on Top," by Beyoncé, and "Seven Nation Army," by the White Stripes). Once

161. Original: "[A bateria] é diferente da guitarra e do baixo que as meninas começam cedo. Acho

que eu teria começado mais cedo, mas teve um episódio na banda da escola que me desinteressou."

<sup>162.</sup> Original: "Muitas meninas não tocam bateria no final das contas, elas tocam outra coisa."

everyone had had a turn, they wanted to go again and, after the end of the session, I asked the mother if they would keep doing classes. She told me her oldest daughter, a 9-year-old girl, would start her drum lessons that month, but she was not sure about the younger one that only tends to follow her older sister.

In the last section of the third chapter, I discussed the significance of parental influence on a child's interest in playing the drums, based on insights from the participating drummers in my research. Parents can either play a crucial role as supporters or present challenges in nurturing their child's passion for drums. During my conversation with a mother, I sensed a shift in the way parents perceive gender stereotypes associated with playing musical instruments. This observation was also echoed by Julie Sousa and Gê Vasconcelos, with whom I discussed the topic of parental support.

In the Hi Hat workshop, it is encouraging to see numerous underage girls, including young children, attending with the approval of their parents or legal guardians. This indicates a changing mindset, at least within the nuclear family, regarding the gendering of drums.

Julie aptly described the prevailing perception as follows:

so, it is an instrument that is the first option – usually, [the parents] put the girl to [learn how to] sing, to the piano, even the acoustic guitar, which I think is great, but never the drum as the first option. (...) There's also the fact that it's not a cheap instrument. (...) It's not an instrument that will fit in any house. (...) And when you add to this factor, this thing, the [appropriate] characteristic of girls, is it a girls' thing? It isn't! It's not expected of a girl to be big, loud, spacious... This is not an instrument that can be ignored, right? (...) It is an instrument that calls too much attention to itself. (Sousa 2019)<sup>163</sup>

163. Original: "então não é um instrumento que é a primeira opção – geralmente [os pais] botam a

opção pela bateria. (...) E também tem a questão de que não é um instrumento barato (...) não é um

menina pro canto para o teclado com até para violão, que eu acho ótimo, mas nunca a primeira

instrumento que [em] qualquer casa vai caber (...) E aí, quando você coloca nesse fator, essa coisa,

aí deve ter as características [apropriadas], é uma coisa de menina? É não, não, não. É esperado que

Considering the distance perceived by Julie Sousa between the drum kit and the expectations of girlhood, the *Hi Hat* is also a tool to facilitate the subversion of gender roles. Instead of teaching the girls how to be silent and almost invisible, the drum classes tell them it is ok to get loud, to appear strong, to move at will, and to produce noise. Although she recognizes other limiting factors that I already discussed – the price and the practicality of owning a full drum kit in a house – she puts the same weight on the associated gendering of the instrument and, from this investigation, I cannot say she is entirely wrong. It will be necessary to investigate further, in future research, how this in fact impacts women and female-identified people in music.

The last *Hi Hat Girls drums workshop* I attended was in 2019, during the *Suburbia* festival. Since the workshop was open to the public of the event, there wasn't a raffle happening and not every one of the attendants had zero experience with drumming. One girl had already played drums but gave up years ago and wanted to test if she still had the muscle memory for it. I watched as she sat on the drums and easily followed a song Julie Sousa had put on – I believe it was "Come Together", by the Beatles – and how this made other girls to feel ashamed to play something afterwards, identifying that there was someone much better than them.

Feeling the unease of the crowd and the frustration of Julie, I decided to intervene and sit down on the throne myself to demonstrate my lack of ability to play the drums and try to encourage the timid public. Before I became involved with *Hi Hat*, I had never played the drums and, by the time this last one occurred, I already had grasped the basic motor controls but did not know a whole thing about technique. Therefore, I very tentatively played the left-

uma menina seja a grande, barulhenta, espaçosa, não é um instrumento que passa batido, não é? (...)

É um instrumento que chama muita atenção para si."

right-right-left, using the *Hi Hat*, the bass drum, and the snare drum, trying to follow the compass of "Seven Nation Army." I left the drum saying how it was difficult but so much fun and soon, other girls followed my lead not feeling so threatened to experiment with an instrument unusual and distant from them.

Later, Julie thanked me for my intervention – I had told her I was not participating in that particular workshop because it was a full house, with more than 20 girls – and that she did not know why someone that already knew how to play the drums would take a beginner's workshop. In that moment I understood the frailty of the *Hi Hat Girls drum workshop*, how it only works as a welcoming space if every student is on the initial level, as beginners, and how a person with more experience and with some dexterity can tarnish the place and influence in collective and individual experiences. Girls and many women fear the drums because it is something far away from their world. To demystify this belief, a first step is needed, the first time to hold drumsticks, the first time to try and coordinate arms and legs to a rhythm, the first time to sit on the throne, and, finally, the first time to try and follow the beat of a song.

This is an example of how coalition politics are needed. By focusing on people with the same limitation, other differences can be embraced. While the coalition politics with the Hi Hat works specifically with the cultivation of "flexibility with respect to one's own self-understanding and receptivity or openness to that which may seem alien, unappealing, and even threatening in others" (Lyshaug 2006: 84), a line is needed to be drawn when comes to the instrument's knowledge. When the shared point of connection or similarities among the participants, specifically in relation to drum playing, are disrupted, the motivational aspect of the *Hi Hat*, as a network, ceases to operate effectively. Therefore, although the *Hi Hat drum workshop* has a limited number of participants that cannot attend more than one time, this is fundamental for the methodology proposed.

As seen in this chapter, educational and creative networks contribute to addressing the limitations and barriers faced by women and nonbinaries in the music industry. By providing inclusive spaces, these networks create possibilities for these actors, foster collaboration, and help break down gender-based restrictions. These networks function as forms of coalition politics, bringing together individuals from different backgrounds to find common solutions to the challenges they face. The educational networks focus on filling the gap in female music education, addressing the restrictions and limitations that women encounter in pursuing a career in music. Creative networks, on the other hand, provide spaces for women and nonbinary individuals to express their creativity and showcase their talents. Both types of networks contribute to the construction of safe and inclusive spaces where women and nonbinaries can feel secure to work with music and learn about it.

# "Culture is what we make it" 164: final appointments

Recently, Fernanda Lira, the lead singer and bassist of the death metal band Crypta, sparked a discussion about the limited presence of women on stage at extreme metal festivals. On November 15, 2022, she made a post<sup>165</sup> on her personal Instagram page that highlighted a photograph featuring Alissa White-Glutz, the vocalist of the melodic metal band Arch Enemy, along with the bands Nervosa and Crypta (see fig. 42) (see appendix). This picture holds significant meaning as it was taken following a period of speculation and rumors regarding the departure of Nervosa's original lineup, which led to the formation of Crypta. These rumors suggested tension and animosity among the musicians involved.

The photograph was taken during a shared event that brought together all three bands (Arch Enemy, Nervosa, and Crypta), marking a historic occasion. Notably, it was the first time that Fernanda Lira and Luana Dametto, the former drummer of Nervosa and current drummer of Crypta, shared the stage with Prika Amaral, the guitarist and founder of Nervosa. Although they were not performing together in the same band, this event was significant for many of them, as it represented one of their early performances with most female musicians. Fernanda Lira expressed her perspective on the event in the post transcribed here:

This picture has a thousand meanings for me but the most important is the representativity thing, a key I'm always striking.

Getting ready for this show I noticed something – it was the first time in my whole life that I was going to play in an extreme metal event where most of the musicians were women. We were 9 (10 with May but I didn't know of her participation when I realized that) and 8 men.

When I realized this, I got very emotional, so much so that I decided to put this in my interaction with the public during the show. (...)

https://www.instagram.com/p/Ck XRdCuWzn/?utm source=ig embed&ig rid=315a0d0e-a8cd-47b4-a3c5-c5635ffd052a . Last access 26/04/2023

<sup>164.</sup> Piece of the verse from the song "#1 Must Have," by Sleater-Kinney. Released in 2000 as track of the album *All Hands on the Bad One* (see appendix).

<sup>165.</sup> The original post can be found at:

For many people it may seem silly, but only we, women, can understand the dimension of this, you know? I always say that only we know how much it touches us to see another woman on stage.

Many people ask me if I am bothered by terms like "female fronted" or "all girl band" and actually nowadays I am not, on the contrary, I am very proud of this term because it represents a fight too, because being a woman in the metal scene is a very specific thing, we go through problems and overcome very specific obstacles, and despite what most people think, that 'it's easy because being a woman calls attention to the band', it's not, it's very hard.

So, I see being a woman in the scene as a struggle I am very proud of, I raise this flag because it is still necessary and I raise it with great pride, because only we know what we go through, only we know the delights and also the pains of being what we are. This photo for me has a strong message that I humbly hope will touch other sisters as it touched me.

It means that it is possible to be a woman, to live your dream, and to occupy spaces predominantly masculine.

And most importantly – that there is room for us in the scene, that there is room for more and more of us, that there is room FOR ALL OF US. (Lira 2022, online)



Figure 42- Fernanda Lira's post on Instagram (print screen). Source: Fernanda Lira's profile

Lira's account is clear: there are still too little women in the heavy metal scene and up the stage in festivals. These are, still, unusual spaces that are made evident by the tone of happy surprise in the post. When she writes: "(...) it was the first time in my whole life that I was going to play in an extreme metal event where the majority of the musicians were women" and "I always say that only we know how much it touches us to see another woman

on stage," she clued to this current unusuality that is still yet not resolved. However, Lira's post is also optimist: "(...) it is possible to be a woman, to live your dream, and to occupy spaces predominantly masculine." She hints to the possibility of a change in the reality, and expansion of spaces for women to share with men, the end of the unusual spaces.

In this dissertation, I investigated the strategies employed by women and nonbinary individuals within the rock underground scene to navigate these spaces. They are characterized by historical, cultural, and societal barriers that hinder the participation of women and female-identified individuals. Such barriers are evident in various domains, including the role of drummers in popular music (Aube 2011, Medeiros 2021, Redmond 2018), DJs in EDM (Farrugia 2012, Polivanov 2020, Polivanov and Medeiros 2020), conductors in orchestras (Bartleet 2008, Jagow 1998), music production, and sound engineering (Reddington 2021, Rodgers 2010), among others. It is important to note that this issue extends beyond the realm of rock underground scenes; it is a pervasive and overarching problem.

Normally, the rock underground is understood as a masculinist form of music, with masculinist traits including the appreciation of male virility and sexualization of feminine bodies (Bilbao 2015, Hill 2016, Meltzer 2010, Strong 2011). Nonetheless, rock is historically a music genre in which rebellion, the breaking of norms, and the *unusual* were always appreciated values – as was discussed in the first chapter. It is, thus, through this form of expression that many women and nonbinary people find and create their own way in the music industry (Gottlieb and Wald 2014, Kearney 2017, O'Brien 2012, Zanellato 2020). Rock's subversion offers the possibility of going beyond imposed norms such as gender roles and unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy.

Such argumentation and context were brought up in the first chapter through the historical perspective of female participation in rock music construction. From its anglophone

roots, until the appropriation and dissemination in Latin America and Brazil, rock – and its underground variation – demonstrated to be both a site of struggle and resistance for women and non-binary people. They employed several strategies to be accepted and respected as professionals and members of the genre's scenes.

One of the strategies employed by women and nonbinary people is the creation of networks, which have different purposes and motives for existing. The most latent one is in retaliation to the 'boys' club' men construct in music, which shuns women and limits their options of employment, education, and creative activities (i.e., composition, rehearsals, performances). Hence, networks offer a response to the challenge of unusual spaces for female-identified people to occupy in music. As such, this investigation was guided by questions regarding the creation, functioning, and characteristics of such networks within Brazil.

In the second chapter Brazil's history is given center stage; the debate of its placement in the epistemic global south, and how politics and social constructions shape the way feminism is constructed – seeing that feminist politics are a base for the constitution of such networks. Considering the country's global and cultural positioning, as well as the social and historical background of the individuals involved in this study, it was crucial to examine how these networks are established in this country. For that, I proposed a discussion on context and historical construction of feminism and south resistances as a value. Additionally, it is in the second chapter that I include the methods and the presentation of the research participants as they are all part of the context proposed in this investigation: the epistemic south existing in Brazilian rock underground.

While the focus of this investigation lay within the context of the rock underground scene in Brazil, particularly in the city of Rio de Janeiro, I also conducted an overview of projects and initiatives from various countries around the world – this map can be found in

the appendix. This process served to identify trends within Brazilian networks as part of a broader, potentially global, feminist movement.

By considering the experiences shared by Mirca Lotz (2022) and examining the structures of other creative and educational projects like *Motim*, *Hi Hat Girls*, and *Girls Rock Camp*, the third chapter revealed potential disparities between feminist practices in the north and in the south. These differences may be attributed to variations in funding mechanisms that impact the implementation of such initiatives. Four types of networks emerged during my inquiry: informational, relational, creative, and educational networks. Each has specific functionalities but, as I demonstrated, a network can change characteristics depending on the social context and demands of the public and the organizers, and even work in more than one category. The last two chapters of this work were dedicated to the in-depth explanation of these networks, mostly through interviews with the research participants.

The third chapter discusses two types of networks: informational networks and relational networks. Within the informational category, the projects *Headbangueira Meia Meia Meia*, *Negras no Underground* (*NNU*) and *União das Mulheres do Underground* (*UMU*) gained the center stage. Although these initiatives differ in specific details, they share similar strategies and objectives. Their primary focus is to promote bands and artists within the rock underground scene, with a particular emphasis on women, nonbinary individuals, and Black communities. *Headbangueira* and *NNU* primarily utilize social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook, employing a more personal approach by featuring pictures from the organizers. On the other hand, *UMU* operates primarily through its dedicated website and fosters collaborative efforts. These three networks have embraced online interactions in response to the COVID-19 pandemic and have gained significant visibility within the scene as content producers.

Moreover, these projects play a crucial role not only in addressing the current scene but also in acknowledging its historical construction. Of particular interest is the work undertaken by *NNU*, which portrays rock as a production rooted in Black femininity, citing influential figures such as Rosetta Tharpe and Tina Turner. This narrative highlights a specific strand of rock music that has primarily evolved within the Anglophone sphere, as references to early Black female rock musicians in Brazil are limited. By promoting such narratives, these projects contribute to the development of a popular feminism (Banet-Weiser 2018) within the rock underground scene.

The southern perspective is more evident in these projects when they focus on the current Brazilian music scene by sharing music materials and facilitating conversations with people of color within the scene. Their objective is to highlight the experiences of people of color, particularly Black individuals, in Brazil, and demonstrate how art can be a tool for resistance. Santos Silva and Queiroz (2023), in their examination of the experiences of Black Brazilians in heavy metal, emphasize how individuals in the scene use their voices to create "re-existence and social contestation: the arts provoke new reflections on the Black experience and the ongoing struggle for subjectivity denied to us by coloniality" (18). Projects such as *Headbangueira* and *NNU* also serve as tools for resistance, with their organizers incorporating their own perspectives as Black women in their posts and participating in events to promote networks.

On the other hand, *UMU* focuses more on increasing representativeness for women within the rock underground scene. The project has even developed its own map to assess the situation of women involved in bands in Brazil, examining factors such as the instruments they play, their roles in the bands, and their earnings (União das Mulheres do Underground 2021). Among the basic instruments (electric guitar, bass, vocals, and drums), drummers are the least represented, while vocalists are the most common role for women. Not surprising,

this highlights the imbalance, justifying projects specifically focused on drumming and female-identified individuals.

Still in the third chapter, I presented the relational networks, which serve as tools for women and nonbinary individuals seeking to collaborate with like-minded individuals. A key characteristic of these networks is the interplay between online and offline spheres. While the digital platform and its tools are essential for facilitating connections, they are not the only strategies employed. Projects like *Women's Music Event (WME)*, despite having an extensive online catalog featuring female professionals, hold greater value for these professionals when organizing social events and gatherings. According to two females I interviewed who are listed in the catalog, the online presence serves more as a reference than an actual platform for creating connections. Instead, meaningful connections occur during workshops, conferences, and the all-female awards ceremony, which is an exclusive feature currently offered only by *WME* in Brazil.

The third chapter closes with the introduction of the *Hi Hat Girls* project as an informational network created by women drummers to other women and nonbinary drummers. As seen in the study made by *UMU*, drums are the instrument less chosen to be played by women. In this last section, I discussed the reasons why such instrument is so difficult to access and how the unusuality related to it came to be through cultural construction. Through the interviews with the drummers participating in this investigation, it was possible to outline the issues and the reasons why for them it was important to stablish and have an informational network that shed a light in the work of other female drummers. The *Hi Hat Girls Magazine* played an important role in giving inspiration and a space for female-identified drummers to share their experience and be heard. When the project changed its network characteristic – from informational to educational – its core goal remained the same: encourage girls and women to play the drums.

In the fourth chapter, the focus shifted to educational and creative networks, which exhibit a more tangible presence in offline activities rather than online platforms. By establishing spaces dedicated to the production and dissemination of knowledge, these networks operate as a form of coalition politics (Lyshaug 2006) within feminist activism, fostering common ground and collaboration among women. Educational networks address the historical gap in female music education, while creative networks provide platforms for women to express their creativity through their professional skills. Both types of networks play a crucial role in challenging patriarchal structures that have traditionally excluded women from the music industry. By offering secure environments for women to learn and work in music, these networks actively dismantle such barriers, contributing to gender equality in the industry and cultivating a more inclusive atmosphere.

Creative networks also adhere to safer space policies (Hill and Megson 2020b), which involve practices aimed at preventing sexual harassment and other forms of aggression against women and LGBTQI+ individuals. The intention is not to exclude men, but rather to create conditions that allow everyone, regardless of gender identity, to participate in the same concerts and festivals. Furthermore, the projects and collectives *Motim* and *Bruxaria*, the two creative networks examined in this study, also prioritize the inclusion of female-identified individuals in spaces where they are traditionally underrepresented – from the front until de backstage. This strategy aims to increase women's participation in these cultural domains and in the nightlife economy, where they have historically faced exclusion due to feelings of insecurity and limited opportunities. Safer spaces in this context extend beyond security policies for enjoyment; they actively involve women in the music-making process.

On the other hand, educational networks focus on creating spaces where women, girls, and non-binary individuals can learn about music. Their objective is to address a cultural and historical issue directly impacting gender disparity in the music industry: the lack

of music education for females. Previous studies have highlighted how the delayed involvement of women in the music industry, attributed to the lack of encouragement and education, significantly influences their career choices in music (Aube 2011, Bellard Freire and Portella 2013, Reddington 2021). This was evident in Gê Vasconcelos's (2019) interview, where she recounted being prohibited from playing percussion during her childhood. Such circumstances have prompted cultural activists and musicians like Julie Sousa, Zélia Peixoto, and Flávia Biggs to create networks that ensure the interests of female-identified individuals are not overlooked.

The networks, therefore, strive to address issues encountered by women and nonbinary individuals in the music industry, such as limited encouragement, low visibility, lack of opportunities, and exclusion from professional circles. Their objective is to dismantle the notion of what is considered unusual for women in music, ultimately eradicating the construction of unusual spaces and fostering the creation of inclusive environments that embrace and empower women and nonbinary individuals. This study is then significant as it reinforces the notion of unusual spaces for women in rock bands at the same time it points out to strategies that seek to make such spaces more inclusive.

In terms of global dynamics, and as a final note, I observe that the networks do not deny the actions existing in the north, rather reappropriating from activism that already exist in countries such as the United States, Germany, and England. Anglophone culture, specifically, possesses a representative influence in these projects beginning by their names (i.e., *Women's Music Event*, *Hi Hat Girls magazine*, *Girls Rock Camp*), until their actual origins, as it is the case for the *Girls Rock Camp*. The fact that networks in Brazil have the networks from the global north as influence is telling and a constant reminder of the dominance of such epistemic space when it comes to initiatives inside music. I do not expect, as no one should, that the networks created in Brazil present a completely divergent way of

creating resistance for the re-existence of women and non-binary people in the music industry, mainly because in global north countries these strategies appear to work, and this is a reason why they inspire other people to reproduce their methods. Nonetheless, it would be interesting to imagine how could a network formed in the global south exist based on the south activism inspiration. This, however, is a possibility which I believe is too difficult to occur, considering the constant exchange from global south and north axis.

All things considered; some questions still remained to be answered. Firstly, it is crucial to examine the efficacy of constructing safer spaces and whether they truly offer a higher level of safety compared to mainstream venues. Personally, I recall my own experience at *Motim* and the overwhelming sensation of claustrophobia due to the crowded environment. This sense of crowding is common in small gig venues, as also pointed out by Gelain (2017), and I have encountered similar situations in Germany and Brazil. It becomes nearly impossible to identify instances of harassment amidst such many people, thereby placing the burden on the victim to come forward to the staff after an incident has occurred, which may not always be feasible.

Moreover, it is worth acknowledging that safer spaces policies may not effectively address other forms of violence, such as racism and homophobia. Debby Mota's (2021) experience serves as a prime example, as they did not feel secure when subjected to persecution by another individual within the same scene. Hence, it is imperative to critically examine the limitations of safer space policies when intersecting with the multitude of challenges that individuals may encounter in the rock underground scene.

One final reflection I propose to highlight is the comparative findings from my investigations in the south and north regions. At the inception of this project, I anticipated significant disparities in the efforts and functionalities of networks based on their epistemological positioning. After all, southern feminisms exhibit specificities and unique

cultural formations when compared to northern feminisms, as elucidated in the second chapter. However, the disparities I observed among the projects were minimal. In northern countries such as Germany, Spain, and the United States, the networks, particularly those in the educational and creative spheres, receive substantial support from government and private initiatives. In the south, especially for Latin American networks rooted in the rock underground scenes, the reality is more complex. Projects like *Motim*, *Bruxaria*, and *Girls Rock Camp Brazil* rely on public assistance to sustain themselves, rather than depending on other institutions.

Notwithstanding this difference, numerous similarities persist. These include the behavior of organizers, the strategies employed to promote networks, online participation, efforts towards the inclusion of gender nonbinary individuals, and the implementation of offline activities. Festivals feature mixed bands, all-female bands, and female artists in their lineups. Workshops are designed to cater to the needs of female-identified individuals. Cultural spaces strive to adhere to safer spaces policies, ensuring that men, women, and nonbinary gendered people can attend events without concerns for their safety. The driving motivation behind each network remains consistent: increasing the participation of women in the music industry. This issue carries equal significance in both Latin America and the Western world. Hence, the strategies employed in the south and north regions are not fundamentally distinct.

Finally, this dissertation aimed to address the issue of unusual spaces for female-identifies people in the music industry and explore the creation and impact of networks in combating the barriers faced by women and nonbinary individuals. Through a comprehensive investigation of Brazilian networks, the study sought to understand their strengths and flaws, functionalities, reach, and overall significance of these initiatives. The findings of this research have shed light on the remarkable efforts made by various networks to challenge the

status quo and create more inclusive environments. Despite initial expectations of disparities between south and north networks, the study revealed minimal differences in their strategies and motivations. Both regions demonstrated a commitment to promoting gender equality in the music industry through online participation, offline activities, inclusion of gender nonbinary individuals, and adherence to safer spaces policies.

It is noteworthy that the research group of participants primarily comprised white women living in urban areas, and their adherence to global principles of contemporary popular feminism was evident. Such specific participation might have happened for two reasons: on the one hand, rock music in Brazil is historically more associated with urban and white cultures. While some investigations point out to the relevant participation in rock underground of people from the 'margins' of the country, being in class, race, and geographic location (Medeiros and Santos Silva 2022, Santos Silva and Queiroz 2023), it is easier to find certain groups of people inside the scene mainly if looking into big cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Brasília. On the other hand, there is the own limitation imposed by my body as a white, feminist researcher from a big city's middle-class strata, I can only access certain spaces showing there is a limitation with my own networks. While attending places like *Motim* I did have access to a more plural and multi-cultural crowd, this is still limited to the city of Rio de Janeiro. And yet, with the pandemic, this access was narrowed and, eventually, the strongest contact I maintained were with organizers and collective head – who are mostly while women.

Such a group of participants, however, also suggests that when it comes to the practical feminism base of these networks, there is a convergence in ideals and practices across Latin America and the Occidental world, as well as the influence of rock music's negotiation of global and local gender norms (Santos Silva 2023). Consequently, resistance

against patriarchy may align with the global wave in the contemporary context of these projects, as advocated by their organizers.

While this dissertation has provided valuable insights into the functioning and impact of networks, it is essential to acknowledge its limitations. The scope of this study focused primarily on the rock underground scene, and further research is needed to explore other genres and cultural contexts within the music industry. Additionally, the effectiveness of safer spaces policies in addressing issues such as racism and homophobia requires continued scrutiny and refinement. The significance of this research lies in its contribution to dismantling the notion of unusual spaces for women in music and its promotion of inclusivity and collaboration. By challenging patriarchal structures, these networks offer opportunities for learning, creativity, and support, thereby paving the way for greater gender equality in the music industry. Looking ahead, it is crucial to continue investigating and supporting the efforts of these networks. Future research could explore the long-term impact of network participation on individuals' careers and personal development. Moreover, comparative studies across different cultural and geographic contexts could provide a more comprehensive understanding of network dynamics and their effectiveness.

The findings of this dissertation highlight the importance of networks as catalysts for change in the music industry. By amplifying women's voices, fostering collaboration, and providing spaces for education and creativity, these networks contribute to an ongoing pursuit of gender equality. Continuing to build upon this research, it is my hope that these networks will continue to grow, evolve, and inspire a more inclusive and equitable music industry for all.

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## Appendix

## **Mapping of Networks**

Subtitle: Green, Creative networks. Blue, Informational networks. Yellow, Relational networks. Red, Educational networks.

	Projects	Country/Region	Cornerstone	Year of creation	Links	Music genre
1	11:11 Arte	Brazil	Cultural producer responsible for MANA Festival, a space thought to be inclusive of women and LGBTQI+	2013	https://www.insta gram.com/onzeo nzearte/	Popular music
2	365 Girls in a Band	Brazil	Project and e-zine focusing in advertising women musicians or bands with women in its formation	2015	https://www.insta gram.com/365gir lsinaband/	
3	Badass Female Drummers		Project aiming advertise the work of female drummers	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/badass femaledrummers/	
4	Borda Underground	Brazil	Project aiming in advertise the work of women in underground rock music of Brazil	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/bordau nderground/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock, heavy metal
5	böse und gemein	Germany	Festival and Collective	2016	https://www.face book.com/boeseu ndgemein666/	Punk, hardcore, alternative
6	Bruxaria Fest	Brazil	Collective that organizes the festival Bruxaria and the pocket show "Poções"	2012	https://www.insta gram.com/bruxar iafest/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock
7	Chama as Minas	Brazil	Platform for the network of women in music	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/_cham aasminas/	
8	Chaos Rising	International	International collaborative project for women in heavy metal - production, record, performance	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/chaosr isingproject/	Heavy Metal
9	Coletivo Lança	Brazil	Collective (feminist and LGBTQI+) focused in the advertisement of	2021	https://coletivola nca.com.br/	Popular music (independent)

			women and queer music artists			
10	Core Tres	Spain	Collective aiming in offering visibility for women and LGBTQI+ people in music	2013	https://www.insta gram.com/coretre s/	Punk rock and hardcore
11	Efusiva Records	Brazil	Feminist and LGBTQI+ friendly record/label.	2015	https://www.efus iva.com.br/	Punk rock, hardcore, alternative rock
12	Female Metal Drummers	Argentina	Project dedicated to support female drummers in metal music	2021	https://www.insta gram.com/female metaldrummers/	Heavy metal
13	Female Metal Worldwide		Project aiming in advertising heavy metal bands with at least one woman in its formation	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/female metalworldwide/	Heavy metal
14	female:pressur e	Europe	Online platform, catalog, collective, network	1998	https://www.fem alepressure.net/	Electronic dance music
15	Festival MANA	Brazil	Festival created by women in order to offer space for other women musicians	2017	http://festivalman a.com/	Popular music (folk, MPB)
16	Festival Suburbia	Brazil	Music festival and podcast that gives protagonism for women over the stage and on the backstage	2019	https://www.insta gram.com/festiva lsuburbia/	Popular music
17	Fusa Activa	Spain	Collaborative data bank for women musicians, mixed or all-female bands	2010	https://sites.googl e.com/view/fusaa ctiva	Popular music
18	Girls I Rate	UK	Organization for capacitation of girls that wish to enter the music industry	2016	https://www.girls irate.com/	Popular music (rock, hip-hop)
19	Girls on Drums Festival	Brazil	Drums festivals for young/new drummers	2010	https://www.girls ondrumsfestival. com/	Popular music (rock, jazz, MPB)

20	Girls Rock Camp	International	Music camp for girls	2000	https://www.girls rockcampalliance .org/	Popular music (rock)
21	Headbangueir a Meia Meia Meia	Brazil	Project to advertise women acting in the "underground" scenes of Brazil	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/headb angueira/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock, heavy metal
22	Hi-Hat Girls	Brazil	Drum workshop for girls	2012- 2016	https://www.hiha tgirls.com/	Popular music (rock, punk, pop)
23	Hit Like a Girl	International	International contest for girls and young female drummers	2011	https://hitlikeagir lcontest.com/	Popular music
24	Hits with tits	Spain	Cultural initiative that offers visibility and a space of production for material to/of women in music and illustration via projects	2013	https://hitswithtit s.com/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock
25	Indigal Canadian	Canada	Collective of independent artists/Album	2018	http://www.indig al.ca/	Rock
26	International Alliance for Women in Music	<del></del>	Organization committed to offering inclusion and incentive to women in music via awards, grants, conferences, competitions, and concerts. The IAWM also has an academic journal.	1995	https://iawm.org/	
27	Keychange	Europe (global focus)	Network focused on creating more opportunities for women in music through career development, and pledges with festivals, music organizations, and companies on behalf of gender equality.	2015	https://www.keyc hange.eu/	

28	Ladyfest	Created in the US. Became a global enterprise.	Festival with Riot Grrrl roots	2000	http://ladyfest.or g/	Popular music (rock, punk, alternative)
29	Mina Sem Banda	Brazil	Network created to connect women that play but that are not currently in bands employ network	2020	https://www.insta gram.com/minas embanda/	Rock music (indie, alternative)
30	Motim	Brazil	Cultural space and collective created thinking in welcoming women, feminists, LGBTQI+, and left activists	2016	https://www.insta gram.com/motim 302/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock, indie, heavy metal
31	Mujeres de la Industria de la Musica	Spain	Network aiming at gender equality in the music industry	2016	https://asociacion mim.com/	Popular music
32	Mujeres en la Música	Spain	Music association for women workers of the music industry	1989	https://www.muj eresenlamusica.e s/	
33	Mujeres y Musica	Spain	Data bank aiming to advertise women in music		https://mujeresy musica.com/	
34	Mulheres do Áudio	Brazil	Project that aims enable women in audio production through workshops, round tables, online meetings	2013	https://www.insta gram.com/mulhe resdoaudio/	
35	Mulheres na Produção Musical	Brazil	Project aiming the enable women in music production	2021	https://www.insta gram.com/mulhe res.producaomusi cal/	
36	MUSAP: Somos músicas	Chile	Artistic organization aiming on enable women in music through workshops, events, and networks.	2018	https://www.mus ap.art/	Popular music (rock, hip-hop)
37	Music by Women	United States	Educational organization focusing on women composers. Enable them via music theory education.	2016	https://www.mus icbywomen.org/	

38	Music by Women	Germany	A project aiming to give visibility to women and create networks for female professionals in music via festivals, workshops, events, and online database.	2017	https://www.mus ichhwomen.de/	
39	Negras no Underground	Brazil	Project aiming in advertise the work of women and Black people in underground rock music	2018	https://www.insta gram.com/negras nounderground/	Punk, hardcore, heavy metal
40	Ni groupies ni musas	Argentina	Poetry workshop and blog that offer space for female musicians, poets, and writers	2016	https://www.face book.com/NIGR OUPIESNIMUS AS/?fref=ts	Rock
41	Programa Arte Sônica Amplificada (ASA)	Brazil	Workshop to enable women in music improve their career and create networks	2018	https://oifuturo.or g.br/editais/progr ama-asa/	
42	PWR Records	Brazil	Independent label created to focus on the inclusion of women in music industry	2016	https://www.pwrr ecords.org/	Popular music
43	RAIA na música	Brazil	Network-platform created to connect women workers of the music industry	2019	https://www.insta gram.com/raiana musica/	Popular music
44	Red Muchacha	Chile	Network created for and by female music workers	2018	https://www.insta gram.com/redmu chacha/	Rock
45	SÊLA	Brazil	Project that offers counseling and does archive and advertise of/for women in music.	2016	https://www.insta gram.com/selam usical/	Popular music
46	She Said So	UK (with chapters on other countries)	Network engaged in enable women in music via education and opportunities	2014	https://www.shes aid.so/	Popular music

47	Somos Ruidosa	Latin America	Network and festival engaged on giving space and visibility for women in music	2016	https://somosruid osa.com/	Popular music
48	Sonora Soma	Brazil	Festival crowdfunded aiming in bringing only women up the stage	2017	https://www.insta gram.com/sonora soma/	Popular music
49	Sound Girls	United States, Canada, Europe	Organization for capacitation of women in audio	2013	https://soundgirls .org/	
50	Treinam	Brazil	Project of workshops aiming the enable of women in music	2020	https://www.trein am.com.br/	Popular music
51	União das Mulheres do Underground	Brazil	Collaborative independent blog focusing in the advertisement of women in underground rock	2017	https://uniaodasm ulheresdoundergr ound.wordpress.c om/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock, heavy metal
52	Uterzine	Spain	Fanzine project aiming in publishing and offering visibility for women on underground scenes	2013	https://uterzine.w ordpress.com/	Punk, hardcore, alternative rock
53	Women in Music	United States (has a global presence)	Non-profit organization advocating for gender equality in music via education, visibility, network, and the creation of opportunities for women	1985	https://www.wo meninmusic.org/	
54	Women in Music Industry	United States	Project tell-tale of the history of women in music	2021	https://www.insta gram.com/wome ninmusicind/	
55	Women Produce Music	Europe and United States	Online international network and non- profit organization focused on gender equality in music production via education and research	2015	https://womenpro ducemusic.org/w p-wpm/	
56	Women's Music Event	Brazil	First solely feminine awards for women in music and data bank for professionals	2017	https://womensm usicevent.com.br/	Popular music

Initial biographical interviews for the participants.

Name (or how they would like to be identified in the final work)

Age

City and state of residency

Profession (is it music related? Is there another profession not related with music?)

Which instrument do they play, if any?

## The sound they make

In this section, the readers can discover the sound produced by the bands with women which are mentioned on this dissertation. This is the sound behind their sound.

Sonic Youth, "Bull in the Heather", comp.: Thurston Moore, Steve Shelley, Kim Gordon, Lee Ranaldo, 1994. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8JGBNkLM9\_8">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8JGBNkLM9\_8</a>. More about the band: <a href="http://www.sonicyouth.com/">http://www.sonicyouth.com/</a>

Manger Cadavre?, "Encarceramento e Morte", 2023.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YyhtE2yK1Dk
. More about the band:
https://mangercadavre.bandcamp.com

Crypta, "From the Ashes", 2021. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rvYn45PfdcY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rvYn45PfdcY</a> . More about the band: <a href="https://www.cryptaofficial.com/">https://www.cryptaofficial.com/</a>

Gangrena Gasosa, "Coió", comp.: Angelo Arede and Gangrena Gasosa, 2021.

<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YBU2kaGOZU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YBU2kaGOZU</a>. More about the band:

<a href="https://gangrenagasosa.bandcamp.com">https://gangrenagasosa.bandcamp.com</a>

Viola Smith, "Frances Carroll & Her Coquettes Featuring Drummer Viola Smith", 1939.

<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o5c">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o5c</a> XZaArH4</a>

Sister Rosetta Tharpe, "Strange Things Happening Everyday", 1944.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=14-22b72muY

Big Mama Thornton, "Hound Dog" (1952) and "Down Home Shakedown" (1965), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wxoGvBQtjpM

X-Ray Spex, "Oh Bondage Up Yours", comp.: Poly Styrene, 1977.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RUBXwxjoAus
. More about the band:
https://www.x-rayspex.com/

Chicks on Speed, "We Don't Play Guitars", 2003.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sK9XQLSpFBA . More about the band: https://chicksonspeed.bandcamp.com/music

Chiquinha Gonzaga, "Atraente", 1877. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_6ameIYuCwY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_6ameIYuCwY</a>.

More about the artist: <a href="https://chiquinhagonzaga.com/wp/">https://chiquinhagonzaga.com/wp/</a>

Ma Rainey, "Jealous Hearted Blues", comp.: Lovie Austin, 1925.

 $\underline{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4H7MUq\_o4iY} \ . \ More \ about \ the \ artist:$ 

https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/gertrude-ma-rainey

Mamie Smith, "Harlem Blues", comp.: W. C. Handy, 1922.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8AN3pxrRzMM

Sumo, "Breaking Away", 1982. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2ghTIXpseg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2ghTIXpseg</a> . More about the band:

https://www.cmtv.com.ar/biografia/show.php?bnid=284&banda=Sumo

Pitty, "Desconstruindo Amélia", 2009. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ygcrcRgVxMI">https://www.pitty.com/watch?v=ygcrcRgVxMI</a> .

More about the artist: <a href="https://www.pitty.com.br/">https://www.pitty.com.br/</a>

Rita Lee, "Esse Tal de Roque Enrow", comp.: Rita Lee and Paulo Coelho, 1975.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=emLYEVutp8c

As Mercenárias, "Labirintos", 1986. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J44sDs4EPAw">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J44sDs4EPAw</a>

Bulimia, "Punk rock não é só pro seu namorado", 1988.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uvBX41qeg\_I
. More about the band:

https://bandas.fandom.com/pt-br/wiki/Bulimia

Janis Joplin, "Cry Baby", comp.: Bert Berns and Jerry Ragovoy, 1963.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRhHdFRFBAs . More about the artist:

https://janisjoplin.com/

Bam Bam, "Ground Zero", 1984. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFiNe2kK914">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFiNe2kK914</a>.

- Os Mutantes, "Panis Et Circenses", comp.: Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, 1968.

  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggWtblacUJ0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ggWtblacUJ0</a>
- Cilibrinas do Éden, "Cilibrinas do Éden" (full álbum), comp.: Lúcia Turnbull and Rita Lee

  1973. <a href="https://shorturl.at/npqD1">https://shorturl.at/npqD1</a>
- Bikini Kill, "Rebel Girl", comp.: Kathleen Hanna, Billy Karren, Tobi Vail, and Kathi Wilcox, 1993. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOCWma5vOiQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bOCWma5vOiQ</a> . More about the band: <a href="https://bikinikill.com/">https://bikinikill.com/</a>
- Cristina Plate, "Para Dartelo Todo", 1968. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=deJ7dphiirE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=deJ7dphiirE</a>
- L7, "Fast and Frightening", 1990. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3PJkciaQAU">https://www.l7theband.com/watch?v=e3PJkciaQAU</a> . More about the band: <a href="https://www.l7theband.com/">https://www.l7theband.com/</a>
- Hole, "Violet", comp.: Courtney Love and Eric Erlandson.

  <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cH\_rfGBwamc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cH\_rfGBwamc</a>
- Klitores Kaos, "Feminicida", 2018. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kw8w7nO1P\_U">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kw8w7nO1P\_U</a>.

  More about the band: <a href="https://klitoreskaos.bandcamp.com/">https://klitoreskaos.bandcamp.com/</a>
- The Carpenters, "Strike Up the Band", 1976.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ie1WWWOxhMs

- Maluria, "Júri Popular", 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rvOlNxUUbAQ
- Maluria, "Francamente", 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U-Hqga Rajc
- Mortarium, "My Distress", 2013. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pto-nVNxscM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pto-nVNxscM</a> . More about the band: <a href="https://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Mortarium/3540343859">https://www.metal-archives.com/bands/Mortarium/3540343859</a>
- The Damnation, "World's Curse", 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0xaXGe1K7k0
- Pavio, Live performance, 2023. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tE543YQ\_nbo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tE543YQ\_nbo</a> . More about the band: <a href="https://www.instagram.com/paviohc/">https://www.instagram.com/paviohc/</a>
- Trash No Star, "Take the Pills", 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6CW7IGwatQs

  More about the band: https://trashnostar.bandcamp.com/

- Laposivy, "No Words", 2022. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjzKxtKRLfE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjzKxtKRLfE</a>. More about the band: <a href="https://laposivy.bandcamp.com/music">https://laposivy.bandcamp.com/music</a>
- Soror, "Bohemian Paradise", 2023. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpxmmNnhjEI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vpxmmNnhjEI</a>. More about the band: <a href="https://soror.bandcamp.com/music">https://soror.bandcamp.com/music</a>
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https://bandas.fandom.com/pt-br/wiki/Estamira

- Dominatrix, "Quem Defende Pra Calar" (EP), 2009. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lnAcXRkF0U4
- Charlotte Matou um Cara, "Vulva la Revolución", 2017.

 $\underline{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u3JPhghkl7k} \ . \ More \ about \ the \ band: \\ \underline{https://charlottematouumcara.bandcamp.com/}$ 

- Nervosa, "Seed of Death", 2023. <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oP9nI9cNREU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oP9nI9cNREU</a>. More about the band: <a href="https://www.nervosaofficial.com/">https://www.nervosaofficial.com/</a>
- Sleater-Kinney, "#1 Must Have", 2000 <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Nom0-kdbQc">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Nom0-kdbQc</a>.

  More about the band: <a href="http://www.sleater-kinney.com/">http://www.sleater-kinney.com/</a>